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THE WASHINGTON CARROLLS AND MAJOR L'ENFANT

On Capitol Hill, not far from the southeast exit to Capitol Park, is a short thoroughfare bearing the name of Carroll Street, while an inscription in stone, "Duddington Place," is built into the wall of the corner house at the junction with First Street. Thus does the city of Washington perpetuate the name and estate of one of its foremost citizens, and at the same time of one of the wealthiest proprietors of land on which the city was built.

Unfortunately for Mr. Carroll of Duddington, he bore the baptismal name of *Daniel* so that his identity today is generally confounded with that of the elder man, Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek, who in 1791 was chosen by President Washington one of three commissioners in whom was vested authority in the newly created District. Though with names so similar the two men represented not only distinct personalities but two separate and unrelated lines of ancestry, for the younger man was a great-grandson of Charles Carroll the Attorney General (or "Imigrant" as he is sometimes called), who came to Maryland in 1688, whereas the father of Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek (the latter being brother to the first American Catholic Archbishop) came to this country sometime in the early eighteenth century and was known as "Daniel Carroll of Upper Marlboro."

Though so far as is known the two Carroll lines were unrelated in the old country, yet on reaching America they married into

the same distinguished Catholic family, for the wife of the later-arrived Carroll, known as "Eleanor Darnall of the Woodyard," was niece of Mary Darnall, wife of the Attorney General; while Eleanor in turn was aunt to Mary Darnall who in 1768 was married to Charles Carroll of Carrollton (otherwise called "the Signer").

But the relationship of the two Carrolls who were to be so closely connected with the early history of the city of Washington, does not confine itself to their Darnall ancestry, for the wife of Daniel Carroll the Commissioner was Eleanor Carroll, aunt of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, while the latter in 1791 had recently taken to wife Ann Brent, a niece of the Commissioner. It goes without saying that both men were practical and outstanding Catholics, the younger of the two being especially famed for his acts of benevolence, for it was Daniel Carroll of Duddington who gave the ground on which the second Catholic Church of the District, St. Peter's at Second and C Streets, S. E., was built. There was moreover a certain similarity in the fate of the two men: Daniel Carroll the elder died in 1796, his days undoubtedly shortened by the anxieties and difficulties into which his responsibility as Commissioner plunged him; Daniel Carroll of Duddington lived on until 1849 but died at last a disappointed old man, having seen his dream of vast wealth vanish through losses in land speculation and through depreciation in value of holdings in his section of the city. These losses and this depreciation are now known to have been more or less closely associated with the peculiar obstinacy of said Mr. Carroll of Duddington in refusing to permit the normal working of the L'Enfant Plan of the Federal City, which was designed and drawn by the French artist and engineer, Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, and approved by Washington between March and August of 1791. From the very first this young proprietor had set himself resolutely to follow out his own line of work and refused to attempt to understand the requirements of the "Plan." In this attitude he was supported by his uncle the Commissioner and by the powerful circle of relatives that clustered round the estate of Notley Young, another of the leading proprietors of the District, whose situation

in the southwest section of the city closely approximated that of Mr. Carroll in the southeast.

The mansion house of Notley Young was the one building of importance which in 1791 stood in that vast expanse of territory between Georgetown and the Eastern Branch of the Potomac, selected by Washington to be the seat of the Federal City. "Duddington Pasture," as the surrounding land was called, had come to him as part of a vast estate inherited from his mother Ann, *née* Rozier, who had married Col. Benjamin Young for second husband, and whose first had been Daniel Carroll, known as "the Merchant," younger brother of Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Three children were born of the first union: Charles called "of Carrollsburg," Eleanor, who married the Commissioner, and Mary who became the second wife of Ignatius Digges of Melrose. To her eldest son, Mrs. Young left Duddington and Cerne Abbey Manors, while Carrollsburg and Carroll's Delight came to the family through the Attorney General. This eldest son, Charles Carroll of Carrollsburg, died in 1773 leaving an eldest son Daniel who, on coming of age, at once took the name of Daniel Carroll of Duddington. Notley Young therefore, was, through this connection, half-uncle to the last named gentleman. His spacious dwelling stood a short distance back from the river a third of the way from Carrollsburg to Georgetown and on an eminence which gave to it a commanding view. It is spoken of as "on the right river bank on what is now G Street, between Ninth and Tenth Streets, S. W. It was long and rambling, built of yellow brick, with a wide portico opening on the west into the noble chamber which served as a chapel during the penal days."[1]

Possessed of broad acres beyond the Anacostia or Eastern Branch, his plantations worked by more than two hundred slaves, Notley Young was a Southerner of the old school and his home was one famed for its generous hospitality. "The place in which I delight," he says of it a little later.

[1] Margaret Brent Downing, "Capitol Hill and its Early Proprietors," in *Catholic Historical Review*, II, p. 280.

Of all the guests who came to partake of that hospitality none was so welcomed as travelling priests, who invariably stopped to say Mass here in their journeyings. Indeed to the chapel of this house belongs the honor of having been the one within the District Line where the Holy Sacrifice was first offered, the officiating priest being the Reverend Thomas Digges,[2] a brother of Notley Young's first wife; their father being Ignatius Digges who married later the aunt of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, which lady was also Notley Young's half-sister.

At the time of the selection of the site for the Federal City, the Young Mansion was also the home of Robert Brent (afterwards under Jefferson, first mayor of the city of Washington), whose mother was a sister of Daniel Carroll the Commissioner, and who had married Eleanor, daughter of Notley Young by his first wife; Notley Young in the meantime had married for second wife Mary Carroll, sister of the Commissioner and therefore aunt of Robert Brent. Ann Brent, who, as has been noted previously, was wife of Daniel Carroll of Duddington, was a double first cousin of Robert Brent, two of the sisters of the Commissioner having married two brothers. As the Brent family were the chief owners of the quarries at Aquia down the Potomac in Virginia, from which stone for the Federal city was to be taken, the vested interests of the Carroll-Brent-Young combination made it practically impossible for one of them to be a disinterested member of the Board of Commissioners, with which body the designer of the city soon found himself forced to deal.

By the Residence Act, passed by Congress July 9, 1790, the power was given the President to locate on the Potomac somewhere between the Eastern Branch and Williamsport, the site for the Federal City. During the early fall Washington was at Mount Vernon and made several trips up and down the river with the object of discovering what should appear to him the most promising location. It is easy therefore to imagine the glow of

[2] The priestly tradition remained in the family of Notley Young, for his eldest son, Notley, was a secular priest and a grandson, Dominick, son of Benjamin 2nd, became a Dominican. See Vol. 16, *Records* of the Columbia Hist. Society; Henning, *Mansion and Family of Notley Young.*

expectancy, not, however, unmingled with feelings of alarm, which during this period stirred the dwellers along that part of the river. The President's own mind was undoubtedly early made up, but knowing human nature as he did, and desirous to avoid excitement and to prevent future trouble, he carefully at the time refrained from any special show of preference. In each locality visited, an agent was left who was to receive propositions from land-holders of the vicinity regarding the terms they would offer in case their ground was chosen. It is worthy of note that among the names of proprietors of what became the Federal District who offered terms, those of Notley Young and Daniel Carroll of Duddington do not anywhere appear. Later, when circumstances forced the acquiescence of these gentlemen, Notley Young was among the protestants. So averse indeed were these great Catholic landowners to the establishment of the Federal City upon their ancestral acres that Washington wrote L'Enfant in April 1791:

> Sir; Although I do not conceive that you will derive any material advantage from an examination of the enclosed papers . . . yet they may be compared with your own ideas of a proper plan of the Federal City. . . . The rough sketch by Mr. Jefferson was done under the idea *that no offer worthy of consideration would come from the Landowners in the vicinity of Carrollsburg; from y. backwness. wch. appd. in them* (italics inserted) and therefore was accommodated to the grounds about Georgetown. . . .[3]

In September, 1790, Daniel Carroll of Duddington was living in what is spoken of as the "farm house" that had belonged to his father and which was situated on the point of land extending out into the river at the mouth of the Eastern Branch (the present location of the War College), above which lay the town of Carrollsburg which had recently been laid out into lots. Though less famous than the mansion house of Notley Young, it is spoken of as of "brick and wide, on the bank of the Anakostia . . ." with "greensward encircled with graceful bending trees reflected" in the water.[4] Though his father had died when only nine years

[3] Wm. Tindall, *History of the City of Washington*, p. 88.

[4] Allen C. Clark, *Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City*, p. 119.

old, Daniel Carroll of Duddington had been well educated and was entrusted to take the only son and heir of his father's cousin, Charles Carroll "the Signer," to Europe so as to place him in school there, in 1787.[5] He was at that time paying court to the lad's sister, Polly, and had the father's consent; the young lady's affections were already engaged, however, so that when he returned to Carrollsburg he was forced to look elsewhere. In 1789 (or 1790), he married, as has already been stated, his cousin Ann Brent. Distinguished-looking, with a tall commanding figure and great personal pride, his first desire now was to provide himself with a mansion house suited to his wealth and social position. He selected therefore an eminence above Carrollsburg and one commanding a superb view of the two rivers and began digging there the foundation of his future home in the fall of 1790. One of the natural resources of the selected spot was a spring of delicious cool water that had never been known to be affected by the longest season of drought. Southern planter that he was he preferred to live secluded, away from public thoroughfares, so that now when the possibility presented itself of the new Federal city being thrust upon him the idea was anything but pleasing. Later, when the thought of vast increase in land value had fired his imagination, his feelings in this respect undoubtedly changed. It is probable that the appointment of his uncle as Commissioner early in January, 1791, immeasurably hastened this transformation. Nor was Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek at first particularly enthusiastic. He had scruples about accepting the post of honor, since at that time he was still member of Congress for his district and not until excused from that duty would he take up those belonging to his new dignity. Almost immediately however, he must have seen the immense personal advantage that was to be reaped from this appointment, even though in the beginning no salary was attached, for not only were most of his near relatives intimately concerned "but his own manor grant which he had inherited from his mother Eleanor

[5] See the interesting family letters given by K. M. Rowland in *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, II, pp. 102 *et seq.*

Darnall of the Woodyard, lay adjacent to the northern boundary of the territory." [6]

Notwithstanding the strong family interests involved, Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek was the logical man for the post and Washington's unerring intuition immediately singled him out. As a staunch Federalist, a supporter of the Constitution and warm personal friend of Madison, as tried patriot who had given the best years of his life to the service of his country, Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek could not fail to appeal to a person like Washington. The fact of his Catholicity was not in any sense a disability in the President's mind. On the contrary, the broad tolerance ever manifested by Washington towards Catholics had been acquired through long years of association with just such men as those belonging to the Carroll, Brent, and Young families here described. Nor must in this connection the staunch Catholic family of Mr. William Digges of Warburton, who lived on his manor grant directly across the Potomac and within hailing distance of Mount Vernon, be omitted. The intimacy of the relations between these two families may be abundantly attested by consulting Washington's *Diaries*. Especially before 1775, are the references to fox-hunting with Mr. Digges, dinner parties exchanged, visits between the ladies, etc., of frequent occurrence.

More highly cultivated than their Protestant neighbors, these wealthy Catholic families of Maryland, forbidden to provide Catholic schools for their children, sent even their daughters abroad for their education. It was in the excellent Catholic schools of Europe that they received that thorough training which made them a people apart. Himself a gentleman by birth and position, Washington knew how to appreciate gentlemanly qualities wherever he saw them, and in Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek he recognized the man for the work in hand.

It was the astute Jefferson however who saw the deeper wisdom of the President's act for he wrote in a note intended for the President's instruction:

If they [the Commissioners] live near the place they may, in some

[6] M. B. Downing, *Catholic Historical Review*, II, p. 281.

instances, be influenced by self-interest and partialities; but they will push the work with zeal; if they live at a distance and northwardly they will be more impartial, but they will effect delays.

And because he realized the need for economy, Jefferson added in another note—

—the essential seems to be . . . that they reside . . . so conveniently . . . as to be able to attend readily and gratis.[7]

Thus was accumulated about the prospective National Capital a volume of unspent Catholic energy; energy garnered through two generations of civic repression and which now, when liberated, would prove sufficient to drive the project through to success.

The project was not so simple however as on the surface appeared. First of all, as has been shown, to get possession of the land was by no means an easy matter. Nothing short of the powerful personal appeal of the President could have brought those stubborn Catholic defenders of what belonged to them, whose tactics had been learned through long years of persecution, to consent to a plan for giving up, on any terms, their property to the State. The personality of Washington worked the miracle. It was his will that held their wills in leash. It was also, for a second time, his faultless intuition that provided the element needed to liberate that stored up energy. Little however did he realize the full import of his act when he left it to Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, French artist and engineer, to devise a suitable plan for the Federal City and ordered him to lay it out on the very land so reluctantly ceded to the public by those Catholic proprietors.

In 1791 Major L'Enfant was a man in the prime of life, he having been born in 1754. Belonging to an old and charmingly artistic French family, his father was "Painter in ordinary to the King in his Manufactury of the Gobelins,"[8] the young man was early destined for the army and received a thorough military training. In August, 1776, he was commissioned Captain of

[7] Elizabeth S. Kite, *L'Enfant and Washington*, p. 31.

[8] J. J. Jusserand, *With Americans of Past and Present Days*. See Introduction, *L'Enfant and Washington*, p. 2.

Engineers to go out to America with the stores that were being sent over by Beaumarchais. He arrived in America four months before Lafayette, and though the commissions accorded by Deane were not admitted by Congress, L'Enfant was one of those who none the less decided to remain in the new world, and therefore entered the army as volunteer serving at his own expence. Within a few months, however, he was accorded the rank originally promised him, and served with distinction throughout the war, being wounded at Savannah, later taken prisoner and exchanged, and finally made Major just before the signing of the Treaty of Peace of 1783. Electing afterwards to remain in America, by 1791 he had built up a successful business reputation having been engaged on numerous public works.

Early in March, 1791, he received notification of his appointment from the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, and immediately set out for Georgetown where he arrived in the midst of a protracted rainy season. Without waiting for the weather to clear, he started out next morning on horseback to reconnoitre the ground on which the city was to be built. Endowed as he was with that prophetic vision which belongs to the highest genius, though the landscape was veiled in mist, it is yet certain that already through that forest-clad tract his eyes could discern the outlines of the city that was to be.

But not only was he possessed with this dominant gift of vision; along with it went the most consummate scientific and technical skill and power of attention to the most minute detail. At the end of four months the city was not only designed but fitted with unfailing accuracy to the accidents of the ground it was to cover. Morever, the originality of his design admits of no possibility of doubt. Nevertheless he prepared himself by an intense study of the existing great cities of the world. He wrote Jefferson April 4, 1791:

> . . . although I would reprobate the idea of imitating and on the contrary of having this intention it is my wish and shall be my endeavor to delineate on a new and original way the plan the contrivance of which the President has left to me without any restriction whatever—yet the contemplation of what exists of well improved situation, given the parallel

of these with ineffective ones, may serve to suggest a variety of new ideas and is necessary to refine and strengthen the judgment particularly in the present instance when having to unite the useful with the commodious and agreeable viewing these will by offering means of comparing enable me . . . to determine with certainty . . . the [proper] combinations.[9]

Washington who had visited Georgetown toward the end of March and who had since been touring the South, returned to Mount Vernon Sunday the 12th of June, where, as he says in his *Diary*, he remained for the next two weeks "riding to my farms and receiving many visits." One of these same "visits" we know to have been from L'Enfant who came to Mount Vernon bringing his first draft of the "Plan" and a memoir giving a first description. No account remains of the discussion which followed. It is certain however that the President was delighted with the work, that he approved the ideas of L'Enfant, that between them certain points were definitely fixed, alternatives regarding others were decided, and that L'Enfant returned to complete the "menutial" survey of the ground and to complete the "Plan."

Monday the 27th of June, Washington met the Commissioners at Georgetown according to appointment, Tuesday he devoted to viewing the site of the city in company with L'Enfant, and Wednesday he gave to the proprietors. Having called them together he placed the whole situation before them, gave them an idea of the nature of the "Plan," of the way it was to be carried out, saw to their signing of the deeds of cession, and left next morning feeling, as he says in his *Diary*, "with much pleasure that a general approbation of the measure seemed to pervade the whole."

Here, so far as Washington was concerned, his duties regarding the city were ended. Thus far L'Enfant had consulted with Washington alone. Henceforth he must work with and through the Commissioners, which was a very different matter. But not only L'Enfant felt the change. No sooner had the President's back been turned than the "general approbation" mani-

[9] See facsimile, *L'Enfant and Washington*, p. 40.

fested in his presence became *disapprobation* on the most broad and general scale. Disputes arose between the proprietors themselves and between the Commissioners and the different proprietors. The slightest favor shown to one or other of them regarding any particular matter was made an excuse for other demands and for postponement of promised acts. The rival interests of Carrollsburg and Georgetown were the cause also of endless difficulties. From the first, L'Enfant met these annoyances in the most conciliatory spirit. His sincere interest in the welfare of each proprietor, his absolute impartiality as well as great affability and courtesy of manner won for him the enduring friendship of practically all the proprietors with the exception of Notley Young and Daniel Carroll of Duddington.

A little thought will serve to explain the antagonism of these two proprietors of land in the Federal City. Compelled through respect to keep silent in the presence of the President, their animosity at being trapped, so to speak, into giving up their lands, fell naturally upon the designer of the city who proposed to take from them such intolerably broad avenues and streets and such a multitude of spacious public squares and parks. As for the avenues and streets, no compensation whatever was to be given, and for the ground taken for public buildings and parks only twenty-five pounds (about $66.00) was to be allowed them the acre. Moreover, from the beginning it was impossible that they should understand one another; L'Enfant in his enthusiasm, looked out and saw the splendor of the city that was to be; *they* looked out, and saw beloved and familiar sights, tobacco fields, pastures, wood lots thrown into wretched and dire confusion and realized that their undisturbed life of affluence and ease was over, and only vague hopes held out as compensation. In the case of the younger man, it is true, the frenzy of the era of speculation which soon followed, did not leave him untouched, and this was not without its fierce joys and moments of elation; but for the older man the situation was one of almost utter gloom so far as his own happiness went, for it soon fell out that the home in which he delighted occupied the site on the river that L'Enfant had selected and the President approved, for a park (the one marked C.

on the L'Enfant Plan) that was to be adorned with a monument to be called "The Naval Victory Column." Besides, the building itself turned out to be set squarely in the middle of the street. He wrote sorrowfully to the Commissioners, January 17, 1792:

. . . I had as I thought a well-grounded expectation that the Plan would be so ordered as to leave me in an eligible situation with respect to the spot I delight in and where I now reside . . . what has happened a few days past proves it was wrongly placed, for in opening a street my house is found to be entirely in it. . . .

I know but one dwelling house where the grounds are laid out, but what is included in one or other [public square or street]. If chance has not done this it must have been design, in order to prevent the Proprietors getting a purchase of their lands at a reasonable price. . . . I have stated these matters in hopes it may be enquired into whether the street cannot yet be altered to the northward of my house [and garden] without materially injuring the plan, and if that cannot be granted, that you will as soon as you conveniently can, order the square next to it, and which will be towards my old buildings, to be laid out for me. . . . I could also wish that you would order the outlines of the city to be laid off. . . . I want to arrange my farm which I have adjoining; a thing I cannot do till the lines are ascertained.

If upon examination it is found the street which affects my house, cannot be altered, I will then give you in some proposals with respect to the pulling of it down. . . .

(Signed) Notley Young.[10]

The distress of Notley Young, however, was as nothing compared

[10] Unpublished letter of Notley Young, in Letters to the Commissioners, Archives, Public Buildings and Grounds, vol. I, No. 67. There are several allusions to the house of Notley Young in Papers of the District, in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. After the withdrawal of Major L'Enfant, the Commissioners approached the President through the Secretary of State, seeking to have the plan altered so as to save Notley Young's residence, pleading economy as a major reason. Their estimate of the value of the buildings that would be destroyed was fifteen thousand pounds. The President, however, refused to consider any fundamental change, as that would lead to endless confusion. L'Enfant is an earlier letter had suggested several alternatives by way of recompense and in any case assured Mr. Young the house need not be taken down for at least seven years. As a matter of fact it was not taken down during his lifetime. This however did not prevent the comfort he took in his home being destroyed.

with the indignation of Daniel Carroll of Duddington. Indeed the situation of the two men had nothing in common except that the site of each home was wanted by L'Enfant for a public park, and both houses proved to be built across a street.

At the time of Washington's visit in June, when the proprietors signed the deeds of cession of their lands, the Carroll house was still in the same condition it had been left the fall previous, with the cellar dug and walled up. Mr. Carroll, however, had engaged workmen and lost no time thereafter in pushing forward the construction. L'Enfant did not fail to warn him in the politest manner in the world, but so long as the "Plan" had not been authoritatively accepted by the President he could not insist. There had been several minor scenes both with Mr. Carroll and with the Commissioners, when L'Enfant had insinuated that the building might have to be demolished. On one occasion in particular Daniel Carroll of Rock Creek had said that in case the question should come before the board he would refuse to act as Commissioner, but would present himself as witness in favor of Mr. Carroll of Duddington.

It was about the middle of November, 1791, when the southeast section of the city was to be laid down, that the question of the house presented itself for decision. Perfectly aware of the delicacy of the situation and also of the legal aspects of the case, L'Enfant went forward on the principle that in small matters it was well to ask advice but in grave ones the course of wisdom was to act and make report afterwards. Before ordering the house demolished, however, he wrote a polite note to Mr. Carroll inviting him to do the work himself using his own men and within a given time. This seemed to the Major the utmost limit of courtesy which he could extend. Mr. Carroll viewed the case differently however, and immediately set out for Annapolis where he secured an injunction in chancery and a warrant for the arrest of L'Enfant. This took time however, and when he was able to return he found his house already down.

In the meantime the President had been appealed to, and Jefferson had come forward warmly supporting the interests of the Carrolls. L'Enfant, undisturbed, presented his side of the case

both to the President and to the Commissioners, pointing out that he had demolished nothing but what had "grown up like underbrush" during the summer, and that the foundation walls would be found unhurt, waiting to be appraised by the Commissioners, since they belonged to the class of improvements for which the government had pledged itself to pay. So sure was he of the legality of what he had done that he announced himself as quite willing to submit to arrest.

As a matter of fact the warrant was never served, and as the Commissioners said no more about it and outwardly appeared friendly, L'Enfant took it to mean that the incident was closed, and forthwith prepared a schedule for the winter's work which he proposed to carry on, with some seventy-five men under competent overseers, at the quarries and connected with laying the foundations of the principal public buildings. He wrote the Commissioners asking for the needed implements and supplies and, leaving the direction of the whole in the hands of his able assistant, Isaac Roberdeau, proceeded to Philadelphia in order to give his personal attention to the engraving of the "Plan."

But the calm in which L'Enfant lived and moved was no indication of the temper of those who considered themselves in authority over him, and his self-justification had only served to further irritate them.[11] Indeed the storm roused by the demolition of the Duddington house had increased in fury through delay in the outbreak. The Commissioners were biding their time, and when L'Enfant was well out of the way, to be exact, on the 9th of January, 1792, without warning to anyone, they summarily dismissed all the men, the overseers, and the commissary, and locked up the tools. As the spirited Roberdeau resisted the order, refusing to comply with demands so contrary to those of his chief, the young man found himself arrested and thrown into prison. Thus all work on the Federal City for the time being was stopped.

When L'Enfant in Philadelphia finally came to realize exactly what had happened, he was too keen not to understand that this had been a deliberate move to oust him as director of the public

[11] See the interesting correspondence on this subject published in *L'Enfant and Washington*, pp. 80 *et seq.*

work. In an impassioned but dignified letter of protest regarding the fate of his hapless assistant Roberdeau, he intimated that he might be forced to resign unless, as he said "power to conduct the work with benefit to the public and credit to myself be left me." In the end, as Washington placed the stamp of his approval upon the late act of authority of the Commissioners, and as L'Enfant refused to work under the prescribed terms, the only course open to him was to withdraw. This he did with a self-restraint and dignity that left nothing to be desired, and no further action in regard to the matter of his employment in the business of the Federal City was ever even discussed. The Carroll interests had triumphed, and the field was left open to the Commissioners to conduct affairs according to their own lights. But though the artist who had dreamed "The City Beautiful" no longer was present to oppose their wishes or to startle them by the suddenness of his acts or the fervor of his zeal, nevertheless his "Plan" prevailed and the difficulties for which he had before seemed to be responsible still remained and were even greatly augmented after his withdrawal; for the Director who followed Major L'Enfant was dismissed, in less than a year, under circumstances bordering closely upon scandal, and the city itself as is well known, had for half a century and more only a struggling existence.

Just how the two principal objectors to the "Plan," the two Daniel Carrolls of the present sketch, subsequently felt about Major L'Enfant, will never be definitely known. There are indications, however, that resentment was too deep to be wiped out by his personal elimination. But if the two principal antagonists in the case were never reconciled to the man who, unwittingly, had been the instrument of bringing so much turmoil and confusion into their lives, yet out of the bosom of the family of these two men was to come one of the most touching and beautiful instances of the law of compensation which history has to record. For though L'Enfant in the prime of life, eager, ardent, working for the future of the nation he had adopted, was driven from the city of his dreams by men who failed to understand him or to comprehend his motives, it was by their descendants that L'Enfant, old, poverty-stricken, but still dignified, honorable and "always

a gentleman" was received and treated like a warm personal friend or even more, like an own relative, and cared for till death claimed him. The story will bear telling in some detail.

The Digges family of Warburton has already been spoken of in its close friendship with that of the Washingtons of Mount Vernon. When William Digges died, his estate passed to his eldest son, George Digges, who was married to Catherine Brent, sister of him who was first Mayor of the city of Washington, Robert Brent. At the death of George Digges early in the last century, Warburton fell to the lot of a younger and bachelor brother, Thomas Atwood Digges, while the widow of George Digges with her family, moved to a new mansion house, called "Green Hill" from the beauty of its view, which was situated not far from the District Line towards Bladensburg. Eventually "Green Hill" passed to her eldest son, William Dudley Digges, who in the meantime had married Eleanor Carroll, eldest child of Daniel Carroll of Duddington and of his wife Ann Brent. Eleanor's mother, and the mother of her husband were therefore first cousins and both nieces of Daniel Carroll the Commissioner.[12]

After the destruction of the Capital during the War of 1812, the work of rebuilding Fort Washington, situated on the Warburton estate across the river from Mount Vernon, was left to Major L'Enfant. While thus occupied, a warm friendship sprang up between him and the bachelor occupant of Warburton, with the result that the Major was asked to make the latter place his permanent home. Here he remained until the owner's death near the end of the year 1822. L'Enfant at that time was nearing the seventy mark, but was hale and active and had won long before this date the confidence and friendship of William Dudley Digges of "Green Hill." The latter wrote the Major, February 4th, 1824:

> . . . You may rest assured Dear Sir, that I have considered your situation and know that it has been an unpleasant one; if a hearty welcome to Green Hill will make it more pleasant, I can assure you have

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[12] For genealogical notes, portraits and family history of the Catholic Digges of Warburton and Green Hill, see *D. A. R. Magazine* for March, 1923.

it from all my family. . . . With compliments to my Aunt and John, I am, Dear Sir,

Your obt. servt.

(Signed) Wm. Dudley Digges.

Warburton, Major L'Enfant.

L'Enfant must have had some hesitancy about accepting, for a little later Mr. Digges wrote again:

Dear Sir:

I send you by Mr. Camden a mule which I hope you find acceptable—I wish you would send up by the wagon whatever you think can be of any service to us here and what is not actually needed by my Aunt. I think you had better come up and take your quarters with me. Here you are welcome and your coming will give me great pleasure. Any mode of conveyance that you prefer you can be accommodated with. . . . I wish you would give Mr. Camden what garden seed you can spare.

I am Dear Sir, etc.[13]

But the devotion of this family does not end with the death of L'Enfant, for to the tireless efforts of the grandson of William Dudley Digges, Dr. James Dudley Morgan, must be given the first mead of praise for the recognition that is today so generally accorded the genius of L'Enfant. From earliest boyhood the presence in the family burying ground of the body of this, then, almost forgotten hero, stirred the lad's imagination so that, arrived at man's estate, he worked with passionate earnestness towards the end of securing rehabilitation for L'Enfant. Finally, when under military supervision the body of the Revolutionary veteran had been disinterred, had lain in state under the dome of the Capitol, and with full martial honors had been borne to its last resting place on the slope of Arlington, Dr. Morgan's great life-work was completed. Two years after the above event, in 1911, at the dedication of the monument marking the grave, Dr. Morgan's little daughter represented her great-grandmother whose name she bore, Eleanor Carroll of Duddington, who was a babe

[13] Originals in the L'Enfant-Digges-Morgan Papers in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. Published in *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society, II, pp. 135-136.

in arms at the time her father's house was ordered demolished by Major L'Enfant. Before the assembled multitude it was the child who unveiled the memorial which bore, carved in the stone, the " Plan " of " The City Beautiful." Thus were grevious ancestral wrongs righted, and a nation's debt of honor paid.

Finally it is the Church, whose blessing had rested upon each of the above departed, that ends the story with her *requiescat in pace.*

ELIZABETH S. KITE.

BOSSUET AND THE GALLICAN DECLARATION OF 1682

Secularism has ever been the greatest foe the Church has had to contend against, and as it has been in the past so is it to-day and so will it be till the end of time. "My kingdom is not of this world." [1]

The history of Gallicanism is a striking illustration of the evil that results to the Church when her clergy give place to worldliness and allow the glamor of pomp and power to influence their actions.

Gallicanism was a growth of several centuries, but it reached its full force at the moment in French history when the power and magnificence of the French crown had attained its apogee. From the dull but persistent murmur of the preceding centuries down to the time when the storm of Gallicanism burst forth in 1682, the story of the French Church is largely the story of the gradual subjugation of the French episcopate and clergy to the secular power.

The "liberties of the Gallican Church", so often foolishly invoked by the clergy themselves in opposing Roman bulls, were, according to Fleury, neither more nor less than *servitudes* of the Gallican Church. Gallicanism indeed was chiefly a three-cornered contest with clergy, king, and Pope as principals, but to complicate matters still further there was the Gallicanism of the magistrates (*gens de robe*), for Parliament, jealous of the little power it possessed, frequently intervened either to humble the clergy or to prevent an alliance between clergy and crown.

In 1516, at the time of the Concordat between Leo X and Francis I, the king and Pope seemed leagued against the clergy of France; [2] but in 1682 it is clergy and king, with a subservient Parliament in the background, united against papal authority.

[1] Strangely enough this very text was frequently invoked by Gallicans in their efforts to restrict papal intervention.

[2] The chief point in the Concordat to which the clergy objected was the change from the system of election to benefices. Hereafter the king was to nominate to benefices and the Pope confirmed. In practice there was little change, as the elections had rarely been free from court influence.

It need hardly be said that the state of the French Church in these centuries was deplorable. Good men there were here and there no doubt—a Vincent de Paul and a Francis de Sales—but the picture on the whole is depressing. At the assembly of notables summoned by Francis II in 1560, and held at Fontainebleau, Montluc, Bishop of Valence, gives a sad account of the state of the clergy; bishops, he says, are only concerned about their revenues, forty bishops were living in idleness and luxury at Paris, prelacies were often bestowed upon children and unworthy men, and priests ordained by worldly bishops follow their example and neglect altogether their duties. A hundred years or so later there were fifty bishops living at court.

The Assemblies of the Clergy were usually summoned, not to concert measures of reform, but to supply subsidies for the expenses, chiefly warlike, of their sovereigns. From time to time protests were indeed heard, but the Gallicanism of the clergy prevented them from boldly invoking aid from the one source whence they knew it could come.

By both prince and clergy was the power of Rome dreaded; the prince recalled the deposing power exercised in the Middle Ages and strove to limit papal intervention even in the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom; the clergy foolishly deceived and flattered for the same purpose, considered they would be sacrificing their Gallican liberties unless they too strove against what they called the encroachments of Rome. And hence we have the spectacle in the year 1681 of an Assembly of courtier bishops and clergy, specially convoked by order of the king and carefully selected by Colbert, the king's minister, as men who would without much ado carry out the king's wishes. For the Assembly, composed of thirty-six archbishops and bishops and thirty-eight lower clergy, was a packed one and those clerics who were deemed troublesome, that is, not completely devoted to the king, were studiously excluded.[3]

[3] Needless to say there was quite a body of distinguished churchmen in France at this time who did not belong to the Court party. Cardinal Grimaldi, Archbishop of Aix, would have nothing to do with the convoking of an assembly in his province with a view to sending deputies to the Assembly-

The president was the Archbishop of Paris, Harlay de Champvallon, of whom Fénelon wrote in a famous letter addressed to Louis XIV: "Vous avez un archévêque corrompu, scandaleux, incorrigible, faux, malin, artificieux, ennemi de toute vertu et qui fait gémir tous les gens de bien." Bossuet's own opinion of the archbishop was likewise a contemptuous one, as is set down in Le Dieu's *Journal*.

Besides this poor figure of an archbishop, the strength of the courtier party was also enhanced by Colbert's son, coadjutor to the Archbishop of Rouen, and Le Tellier, the Chancellor's son, Archbishop of Reims; two other Colberts were of the group. But what of Bossuet? Was he not the principal figure in this Assembly of 1681-82? The answer is "No." For, although it is quite true that Bossuet's name as attached to the declaration of the Four Articles of 1682 was in later years one of the chief rallying points of a declining Gallicanism, it remains true that he who had only just been nominated Bishop of Meaux was a less important personage than the several prominent archbishops of the kingdom such as—in addition to those already named—de la Viéllière, Archbishop of Bourges, and de Bourlemont, Archbishop of Bordeaux, creatures of Colbert though they were. Yet Bossuet's name undoubtedly lent distinction to the Assembly and Louis was anxious that he should take part therein. Moreover, on account of his tried eloquence he was chosen to pronounce the opening sermon.

But a few days before the opening of this extraordinary Assembly, Bossuet has a letter to write to Innocent XI to thank him for remitting part of the tax due for the reception of his bulls in the matter of his nomination to the See of Meaux. In view of what the Assembly was presently to enact, it is worth while to give the entire letter:

Beatissime Pater, en iterum ad me pulverem et cinerem ab alta Petri sede paterna vox omni reverentia gratique animi significatione prose-

General. Dom Cerles, Vicar-General of Pamiers, was bold enough to publish two protests against the iniquitous manner of selecting deputies. The regulars were nearly to a man anti-Gallican. *Cf.* C. Gerin, *Récherches historiques sur l'Assemblée de 1682*, ch. IV.

quenda. Me vero iam excipiat Meldensis ecclesia tanti Pontificis gratia et beneficiis illustrationi totque firmissimis Sedis apostolicae munitum praesidiis. Neque enim alia sub coelo est potestas, sanctissime Pontifex, qua metuendum Angelis pastoralis officii onus sublevetur; et copiosior colentes per populos evangelicae praedicationis decurrat gratia. In partem ergo vocandus sollicitudinis, plenitudinem potestatis omni obsequio venerabor, et Romanae matris affixus uberibus, lac certe hauriam parvulis propinandam, tantumque Pastorem Pastorum Principi assiduis precibus commendabo.

On the 9th November, 1681, Bossuet preached to the Assembly gathered under the roof of the church of the Austin Friars at Paris, and took as his text the words of Balaam: "How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel" (Numbers, xxiv. 5).

The sermon is a masterpiece of eloquence and is the only sermon Bossuet himself ever published: this at the request of the Assembly and the king.[4] Therein first the glories of the Universal Church are lavishly displayed—then, as one of the chief constellations, appears the Gallican Church, introduced with a dramatic phrase.

Of this sermon Bossuet was careful to send the proofs to Rome some days later and at Rome it was duly admired; for, as he wrote to his agent there and to Cardinal d'Estrées, he had been anxious to respect "the tender ears of Rome." He confesses that he was *indispensably* obliged to treat of the liberties of the Gallican Church: evidently he would have preferred silence on these matters, but he knew what the king expected of him.[5] In a word, it was a sermon of compromise. As for the *Régale*,[6] which was the

[4] It is generally known under the descriptive title "Sermon sur l'Unité de l'Eglise." *Cf. Bibliographie raisonnée des Oeuvres de Bossuet*, p. 39 (Verlaque, Paris, 1908).

[5] *Correspondance de Bossuet*, tom. II, pp. 268-282 (Regnier).

[6] The *Régale*, "ce beau droit royale" as one of the contemporary Gallicans called it, was one of the liberties of the Gallican Church and consisted of the enjoyment by the king of the fruits of a vacant benefice. This was a temporal *régale*, but there was also the spiritual *régale* which was the right, or more strictly the privilege, of the king, during the vacancy of a See, to present to all those benefices which were in the bishop's advowson.

first matter on the *agenda* of the Assembly, Bossuet's opinion, expressed in his letter to Dirois (Dec. 29, 1681), is very definitely opposed to the claims of the French kings—though he speaks of the affair as one of slight importance: (the Pope had called the dispute over the *Régale* "the affair of God" and one wherein the rights and authority of the Church were directly attacked).

However, the first act of the Assembly was to extend, at the king's request and in the interests, as it was said, of peace and charity, the hitherto restricted right of *Régale* to *all* the churches of the kingdom. True, the king at the earnest demand of the Assembly modified somewhat his claim in regard to the spiritual *Régale*, but the practical control of all benefices remained in his hands, and the Gallican clergy surrendered into his hands at a single blow what had for so long been a matter of controversy between King and Pope. At the same time a long letter of explanation [7] was despatched the same day, February 3, 1682, to Pope Innocent, in which the French deputies confess that though they know the Pope alone can pronounce upon such a matter, the necessity of the times compels them to forestall his decision. Little wonder that the Pope in his answer, dated April 11 and read in the Assembly on May 9, lashed them for their cowardice and effrontery in conceding to the king as a right that which was only a privilege and for taking upon themselves such unwarranted authority. This letter takes no account of the much more serious Four Articles, which had in the meantime been drawn up, March 19, signed and passed by Assembly, King, Parliament and University, but the Pope, who must already have been aware of what had taken place, condemns, rescinds, and nullifies anything that *has* taken place and anything that may in the future be enacted in this Assembly! Little wonder that the Assembly was struck dumb, that the king immediately suspended the sittings and presently ordered the Assembly to separate. He became sud-

[7] Procès-verb., tome V, pp. 441 and 453; pièces-justif., p. 227 and 231 in Latin and French. The letter is quite probably from Bossuet's pen, notwithstanding the official indication (*ibid.*) that Le Tellier was the composer. Cf. *Journal of Deforis*, 19 janvier, 1700, and *Corresp. de Bossuet*, tom. II, pp. 296-300 and footnotes, and p. 428 *seq.*

denly solicitous that the bishops should return to their flocks, lest a prolonged absence should expose them to danger and so forth. His work was accomplished, but he was at heart too Catholic to proceed to schism. Some voices were indeed raised to tempt him: Louis, however, stood firm. But on one point he could make no headway: this was when he endeavored to obtain canonical institution for those ecclesiastics nominated to bishoprics who had taken part in the proceedings of the Assembly. The Pope insisted upon a retraction: as a consequence there were soon numerous vacant sees in the kingdom. Those were critical years and Louis proceeded to violent measures to induce the Pope to give way. At last there were thirty-five vacant bishoprics and Louis was alarmed.

At the advent of Alexander VIII new hopes were aroused, but Alexander was as firm as Innocent and on his death-bed in 1691 definitely condemned, annulled, and quashed the Four Articles and all the Acts of the Assembly of 1682 concerning the question of ecclesiastical power.

The collapse of Gallicanism came in 1693; the king gives way and those nominated to vacant sees go before the papal nuncio to sign a formal retraction. Had Bossuet been nominated to an archbishopric, he too would have had to sign a retraction for his part in the proceedings of 1681-82.

Had the Four Articles been drawn up as merely representing the opinions of a body of theologians in the Gallican Church, there would have been little stir at Rome; it was the attempt to impose as *doctrine* upon the entire Gallican Church the *opinions* of a small body of the clergy that roused such indignation.

"These (maxims) are what we have received from our fathers and which we have decreed to be sent to all the Gallican churches and to the Bishops whom the Holy Spirit has established to govern them; that we may all affirm the same thing and remain in the same sentiments and hold the same opinions".[8] The Assembly

[8] The Bishop of Tournai had said in delivering his report of the commission appointed to examine the Six Propositions (of 1663), of which Bossuet was a member: "Leur avis est qu'il soit dressé des articles, en forme de Canons

requested the king, in an accompanying *mémoire*, to order the registration of their declaration in all the parliaments and courts of his kingdom, in all the universities and faculties of theology and canon law. They begged that all his subjects should be forbidden to teach any contrary doctrine and that professors of theology should be made to subscribe to the declaration, with various other prescriptions of the same tenor.

The King's edict [9] to the above effect duly followed: Louis was anxious to forestall any protest from Rome, for this was before the receipt of the Pope's letter of April 11.

The Four Articles with all their wordiness may be said to embody briefly two principles: (a) that the temporal power is completely independent of the spiritual, and (b) that the power of the Pope is subject to that of the council and the judgment of the Church.[10]

These two principles are at the root of the Gallican question, often obscured, it is true, by the ecclesiastical and political controversies of the day, but nevertheless always emerging under a closer examination.

Bossuet's views on these two points may be of interest, but first it must be made clear that he firmly believed in an infallible Church, authoritatively teaching all men.

In his *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Église Catholique*, which he wrote expressly for the conversion of Protestants, occur such passages as the following:

Étant donc liés inséparablement comme nous le sommes à la sainte authorité de l'Église, par le moyen des Écritures que nous recevons de sa main, nous apprenons aussi d'elle la tradition, et par le moyen de la tra-

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et de Décisions pour être envoyés à tous les Prélats du Royaume," etc. Procès-verb., ch. V, p. 549. It was Bossuet himself who actually put the Four Articles into the Latin form we know. *Ibid.*, pp. 550-551.

[9] Isambert, *Recueil générale des anciennes lois françaises*, tom. XIX, no. 1003.

[10] At this time, be it noted, the University of Paris was the only Catholic University in Europe which did not teach the infallibility of the Pope. Yet Gérin asserts and proves conclusively: "Il faudra désormais . . . reconnaître que les docteurs opposés aux maximes Gallicanes étaient *les plus savants et les plus nombreux*."

dition, les sens véritables des Écritures. C'est pourquoi l'Église professe qu'elle ne dit rien d'elle-même, et qu'elle n'invente rien de nouveau dans la doctrine, elle ne fait que suivre et déclarer la révélation divine par la direction intérieure du Saint-Esprit qui lui est donne pour docteur. . . .

Ainsi, tant qu'il y aura des disputes qui partageront les fidèles l'Église interposera son authorité; et ses pasteurs assemblés diront après les apôtres: *Il a semblé bon au Saint-Esprit et à nous* (Acts, 15-28). Et quand elle aura parlé, on enseignera à ses enfants qu'ils ne doivent pas examiner de nouveau les articles qui ont été résolus, mais qu'ils doivent recevoir humblement ses décisions.[11] . . . C'est ainsi que les enfants de Dieu acquiescent au jugement de l'Église, croyant avoir entendu par sa bouche l'oracle du Saint-Esprit; et c'est à cause de cette croyance qu'après avoir dit dans le symbole, *Je Crois au Saint-Esprit,* nous ajoutons incontinent après, *la sainte Église catholique;* par où nous nous obligeons à reconnaître une vérité infaillible et perpetuelle dans l'Église universelle, puisque cette même Église que nous croyons dans tous les temps, cesserait *d'être Église si elle cessait d'enseigner la vérité révelée de Dieu.*[12]

One more passage from another of Bossuet's controversial works will suffice:

Et il serait ridicule de nous objecter que cette authorité magistrale qui décide les questions avec une certitude infaillible n'a été dans l'Église qu'au temps des apôtres; car cette pensée serait raisonnable si toutes les questions sur les saintes Lettres eussent dû aussi finir avec eux. Mais, au contraire, le Saint-Esprit prévoyant que chaque siècle aurait ses disputes, dès la première qui s'est élevée, nous donne le modèle assuré selon lequel il faut terminer les autres quand il est ainsi nécessaire pour le bien et pour le repos de l'Église. Tellement qu'il appartiendra à l'Église, tant qu'elle demeurera sur la terre, de dire à l'imitation des apôtres: *Il a plu au Saint-Esprit et à nous.*[13]

Upon the question of the complete independence of the temporal power, Bossuet's opinions are quite clear. He did not believe the Pope had either direct or indirect power over temporal sovereigns. Here his chief adversary, whom he is at pains to refute, is Bellarmine, who, brushing aside the medieval doctrine of the Pope's direct jurisdiction, strongly maintained that when the

[11] *Exposition,* n. 19 (Lachat, tom. XIII).
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Réfutation du Catéchisme du Sieur Paul Ferry,* 2e Verité, ch. IV.

spiritual interests of his flock were concerned the Pope enjoyed an indirect jurisdiction over temporal princes.[14] Bossuet preferred the spectacle of the two powers marching independently side by side, with mutual respect and affording mutual assistance when necessary. This view is found principally in his sermons, but in the *Defensio* he is eager to disprove the indirect jurisdiction; in his *Exposition* the question is deliberately burked.[15]

It would lead us too far afield to go through the arguments piecemeal, though indeed it is a little thrilling to see the great preacher at grips with the theologian on the actual question: "Can the Pope ever depose a sovereign?"—a question that is not so purely academic as it might to-day seem.

As for Bossuet's exact views of the Pope's supreme power in the Church, three points appear certain:[16] (a) he attributed to the Pope a real primacy or headship over the Universal Church, but (b) denied the personal infallibility of the Pope, and (c) maintained the superiority of the Council over the Pope.

Concerning the first point there is little need for evidence, which is scattered abundantly through his sermons and writings; especially in that famous sermon preached at the opening of the Assembly of 1681-82, where the authority of the Holy See is eloquently extolled.

It is in the question of the personal infallibility of the Pope that we look in vain for any definite teaching on the affirmative side, though in his contest with Fénelon there are found sentences which would almost appear to put Bossuet on the side of the Ultramontanes. But then M. de Meaux was very much bent on having M. de Cambrai's blood and perhaps looked round for any

[14] *De Summo Pontifice*, lib. V, tom I, *de Controversiis*.

[15] *Cf.* his sermon on St. Thomas of Canterbury, 1668, and on the Duties of Kings, etc. Bossuet's unpublished *Defensio declarationis* has a large portion devoted to the discussion of the temporal power: only after many years did this posthumous work see the light. The same ideas are found in *Politique tirée de l'Ecriture Sainte*, 1, VII, art. V, prop. 12.

[16] But only if we regard the *Defensio* as the deliberate judgment of Bossuet, for there are other passages here and there in his works which make the matter less clear. It is a long and intricate story, which to-day has lost a good deal of its interest.

deadly weapon of controversy. In the *Defensio* Bossuet definitely rejected—against Bellarmine—the doctrine of those who held that one of the papal prerogatives is personal infallibility. Following Launoi and Dupin of the Gallican school, he attacked in particular the proofs brought forward by Bellarmine for establishing the doctrine. He denies the value of the famous "Causa finita est" of St. Augustine, by asserting that the question at issue was too clearly one which could be decided by the Pope's decision alone, without recourse to the trouble of assembling a Council, but that that decision plainly implied that the bishops dispersed throughout the world held the like opinion.[17] Nor does the case of St. Cyprian and Pope Stephen affect Bossuet's position.

Another means employed by him to evade the conclusion of papal infallibility was the use of the famous distinction between the Apostolic See and the occupant of that See (*sedes et sedens*). The classic passages from the Fathers which appear to favor the doctrine of personal infallibility are referred to the See of Peter, not to the reigning Pontiff: "Haec igitur Cathedra, haec Sedes, haec Ecclesia est, quae pro sui Pontificis dignitate uniendae Ecclesiae necessaria, nunquam a vera Ecclesia, numquam a vera fide abrumpatur. Neque obiiciant, Sedem a sedente Pontifice minime distinguendum. Hunc enim errorem multis iam veterum testimoniis sublatum esse credimus. Vel sanctum Leonem audiant de sede Antiochena dicentem: 'Aliud sunt sedes, aliud praesidentes.'" [18]

In another passage, speaking of the case of Pope Honorius, Bossuet demolishes the argument that placed the author of the *Letters to Sergius* in the position of a private doctor with this trenchant phrase: "Quando igitur ex cathedra pronuntiandum fuit, nisi quum a toto obriente consultum Petri *successorem confirmare fratres et teterrimum errorem compescere oportebat?*" [19]

As to the superiority of Council over Pope the battle wages fiercer than ever between Bossuet and Bellarmine. From the

[17] *Defensio*, 1, IX, 2. p. 166 (Lachat, tom. XXI).

[18] *Ibid.*, 1, X, 5 *seq.*

[19] *Ibid. Praevia dissertatio* n. 54. The same tone occurs in dismissing the case of Pope Stephen and St. Cyprian.

fourth session of the Council of Constance had gone forth that epoch-making decree which has given rise, from the fifteenth century right down to the nineteenth, such a wealth of controversial writing. Bellarmine, in his thesis of the absolute supremacy of the Pope in the Church, had to reply to the earlier Gallican thesis that the acts of the Council of Constance definitely proved the superiority of a Council-General over the Pope. This he skilfully does by the use of arguments which have since been adopted in general by orthodox theologians,[20] but Bossuet will have none of it and with great vehemence and no little skill he devotes several chapters to the refutation of the Jesuit's reasoning. All the while, however, one detects that he is fighting a losing battle and pathetically one reflects that had it not been for the unfortunate events of 1682 these long tracts of dry controversy would have remained unwritten.

In truth Bossuet would have been glad to have escaped that fateful Assembly altogether, but once committed to it he could not remain an uninterested party. In after years, however, speaking to Le Dieu of the doings of the Assembly he avowed that the author of all the trouble was Colbert, the king's minister. "Au reste feu M. de Paris (Harlay de Champvallon) ne faisait en tout cela que flatter la cour, écouter les ministres et suivre à l'aveugle leurs volontés comme un valet." [21] A rather sad story and one which bears out what was written at the beginning of this paper.

ALFRED BARRY, O. S. F. C.

[20] *E. g.*, that the decree in question only referred to a time of schism, that the Council had no ecumenical character at this juncture, etc., *cf. Defensio* 1, V.

A modern writer thus describes the act of Constance: "Probably the most revolutionary document in the history of the world is the decree of the Council of Constance, asserting its superiority to the Pope and striving to turn into a tepid constitutionalism the Divine authority of a thousand years." Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*, p. 41 (Cambridge, 1916).

[21] *Journal*, tom. I, p. 9.

LUDWIG VON PASTOR, THE HISTORIAN OF THE POPES

Two years ago I sent a copy of the *Church Historians*[1] to the greatest of all modern Catholic historians, Ludwig von Pastor. No more appropriate gift, I felt could be made to him on the occasion of his birthday-anniversary, since the volume contained a character-study of the celebrated historian himself. In grateful acknowledgment I received a letter dated Rome, February 2, 1927, and from which I am pleased to recall these significant words: "Sie haetten mir keine groessere Freude zu meinem 73 Geburstag machen koennen . . . Beten Sie, dass der liebe Gott mich noch den Abschluss des grossen Werkes erleben lasse. . . ."

During the following year, on September 30, 1928, a telegraphic communication was received to the import that the eminent historian had died at four o'clock that morning in Innsbruck, Tyrol.

Failing health during the last few weeks had temporarily forced him to abandon his work. When, however, his malady became aggravated, as to require the constant attention of his physician, he instinctively felt that his time upon this earth was not to be for long. He summoned Dr. Ph. Dengler, his successor in the professorship at Innsbruck, and to him entrusted the following message for the Holy Father: "Tell the Vicar of Christ that my last heart-beat shall be one of devotion to the Roman Church and the Pope." And thus departed Ludwig von Pastor, a man who had read more than any other living man in the original documents what is both divine and human in the papacy, and whose dying breath was that of a noble protagonist in its defense.

De mortuis nil nisi bene may be applied to other great men shortly after their death, but to eulogize the greatest Christian

[1] *Church Historians, Including papers on Eusebius, Orosius, St. Bede the Venerable, Ordericus, Vitalis, Las Casas, Baronius, Bollandus, Muratori, Moehler, Lingard, Hergenroether, Janssen, Denifle, Ludwig von Pastor.* With foreword and index by Peter Guilday, Ph. D. (N. Y., 1926).

historian of modern times would not only be out of place, but also un-Pastorian.

Ludwig von Pastor was born on January 31, 1854, at Aachen, in the Rheinland, Germany. Because of various circumstances, he spent very few years in this historic city. However, as long as he lived, he showed a special predilection for the city of his birth. He remembered it in his will by presenting it with the medal which Pope Pius XI had especially struck for him on his seventieth birthday. Accompanying the gift was this message, a testament of undying loyalty: "I bequeath this unique token to my birth-place, Aachen. May the Catholic faith in the Urbs Aquensis and the sincere attachment to the Vicar of Christ which I value as a firm inheritance, always continue among its citizens."

Pastor's father, a prominent merchant in this old capital of the Holy Roman Empire, was a sincere Lutheran, and his mother, Anna Onnau, a pious Catholic. As far as is known, the parents had made no contract before their marriage concerning the education of their children, but Herr Pastor, who was a leader in Lutheran church circles, believed it his duty to raise his eldest son in accordance with his own persuasion. Thus it happened that the future historian and friend of popes was baptized in the local Protestant church.

Six years later, in 1860, for business purposes, the parents moved to Frankfort on the Main, and this "second Kaiserstadt" of the old empire became Ludwig's second home. Here Herr Pastor died in 1864. After the death of her husband, Frau Pastor continued to make her home in Frankfort, intent only on a thorough Catholic training for her children.

As the first-born son, it was readily assumed that Ludwig would follow the career of his father, as his ancestors had done for centuries before. Imagine, however, the chagrin and disappointment of the mother, when Ludwig showed a preference for natural science and geographic study, but her displeasure was soon assuaged by Johannes Janssen, then professor of history at Frankfort, who was eager to inform her of Ludwig's unusual mind, at least as far as history was concerned.

It all came about in this way. The young student submitted

a theme on the difference between the primary and secondary benefits which accrued to the mother country of the English colonies. So well done was this assignment, that Pastor immediately became Janssen's most favored pupil, later his associate editor, and finally his literary heir.

There can be no doubt that at that early age Janssen laid the foundation for Pastor's conception of history as a science. As it is well known this "Historian of the German people" was, at that time, the principal exponent of the theory that true history must not only give the deeds of the great men in public life, but also fully portray the condition of the common people. Applying this principle to the period before the Reformation, he proved that the latter was not a step forward in civilization, but in many regards a step backward. We may be sure that his gifted pupil soon saw that this same principle could be just as well applied to the history of the whole Church, and that such a *Kulturbild* would more than anything else reveal the true rise and fall of the civilization of a period, with the papacy acting as the central power or force either for advancement or retrogression.

It is also quite likely that under such a teacher, who had the highest regard for truth, he chose as his life's motto, "Vitam impendere vero." This was in his estimation no empty phrase. Later in his controversy with Dr. von Druffel, he gave it this version, "to follow historic truth from his innermost conviction." In other words he looked upon his calling as an apostolate of historic truth. During these years the eye of the young student was turned toward Rome and the popes. His first serious thought about the history of Rome originated from *Italia,* a book written by John Fichard of Frankfort, which, he said later in the sixth volume on the popes, made a lasting impression on his youthful mind. But the most important influence in this direction came again from his professor and mentor, Janssen, who, on December 8, 1873, presented him with Leopold von Ranke's *History of the Popes of the Last Four Centuries.* The perusal of this work effected much. Young Pastor reasoned, if Ranke, a Protestant, who had only a limited access to the papal archives, could write such a remarkable history of the popes, how much superior would

not be the history by a Catholic who has a better conception of the papacy, and who would have full sway in delving deep into the historical treasures of the Eternal City! Ranke had a rival.

In 1875, Pastor graduated from the gymnasium of Frankfort and, at the advice of Janssen, went to the University of Louvain to specialize in modern history. Here he studied for a year under Professor Dr. Paul Alberdingk Thijm. During the next year he continued these studies at Bonn under the renowned Karl Menzel, Morel Ritter, and Henry Floss. Later he went to Berlin, which, at that time, was the Mecca of historical students. There Waitz, Mommsen, and Ranke lectured. But he remained there only a short time, and, at the invitation of Onno Klopp, entered the University of Vienna. Without a doubt this classical historian of the Thirty Years' War exercised, next to Janssen, the greatest influence on Pastor during this formative period of his life. Finally, at the earnest solicitation of J. B. Weiss, the well-known editor of the *Weltgeschichte*, he matriculated in the University of Graz to present his thesis for the doctorate in philosophy. He chose for his subject: *Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen waehrend der Regierung Karls V.* Having merited the desired award, Pastor became licensed to enter a teaching or writing career in history.

When Pastor, as a young man, had casually mentioned to the Rev. Dr. Heinrich Koch, a friend of the family, that he wished to follow an academic career, the Reverend Doctor replied: "As things are now, it is easier to become a bishop than a professor in a university." Perhaps the good priest wished to direct the talented and ambitious student to the priesthood, but Ludwig felt no vocation for that particular life. Instead he set out to find a professorial chair, but it was all in vain. More and more did the truth of a common saying bear down upon him, "that a man of Catholic conviction was not welcome at any State university." Especially was this true of Germany, which just passed through the harassing years of the *Kulturkampf*. Realizing that Germany held no ray of hope to satisfy his ambition, he applied to the Ministry of Education in Austria for an assistant professorship of history in the University of Innsbruck. But even after his

admission into this circle of teachers, he found strong opposition on the part of some of his colleagues. This antagonism continued for a number of years. As late as 1886, when he published his first volume of the *History of the Popes*, Dr. Busson, dean of the department, told him: "You may write a dozen of such books, but you will not be advanced to a professorship, unless you change your principles." How the spirit of that educational centre has changed since that time!

Shortly before Pastor took up his duties as professor at the University of Innsbruck, he went to Rome to make special investigations in the archives and libraries on the subject *Die Legationsreise des Cardinals Contarini in Deutschland in 1541*. Here by a real *coup d'état* in history he became famous. As he himself described the episode in 1922, at a reception in honor of Cardinal Francis Ehrle, S. J., at the Anima in Rome, the following facts cannot be gainsaid. While he was deeply engaged in studying the subject relative to Cardinal Contarini's stay in Germany, Pastor became fully convinced that the papal archives would contain very valuable material for his subject. Consequently he proceeded to Rome where he hoped that the privilege of access to this historic treasury would be readily granted to him.

He was assisted in his quest by letters from Monsignor Jacobini, the nuncio at Vienna, Monsignor de Montel of the Austrian embassy in Rome, and Monsignor de Waal, a special friend of Janssen. However, when he presented these recommendations, Cardinal Nina, later Secretary of State, answered: "This is impossible, because, with the exception of the Pope, the Secretary of State, and the Prefect of the Archives, not even Cardinals are allowed to enter this sanctuary under pain of excommunication." This severe order had been given by Pius IX, because in 1870 an official had committed a grave indiscretion. But our enthusiastic historian was not daunted in the least by this flat refusal. "Your Eminence," he rejoined, "I do not ask to be admitted. I will only be too glad, if the documents are brought out to me." This reply pleased the kindly churchman to such an extent that he promised to put the question before the College of Cardinals. Meanwhile Cardinals Hergenroether, Pitra, and Franzelin spon-

sored our historian's cause, and spoke in his favor to their colleagues. But the opinion of the more conservative prelates still prevailed, and Pastor's petition was refused.

Any other would have considered the decision as final, but not so our intrepid son of the Rheinland. He prepared a memorandum, and asked for an audience with Pope Leo as the last refuge. The sovereign Pontiff granted him this extraordinary privilege; for he was of the same mind as the historian, that these documents were in the secret papal archives which now would be used for the first time at his generous consent.

Shortly afterwards, Cardinal Hergenroether was appointed Prefect of the Archives, and to him it is largely due that the Holy Father by a special brief, dated August 13, 1883, opened the secret papal archives to the whole world for historical research work. During the following year, when a number of professors and writers of history thanked the pope for this singular grant, Leo XIII spoke those significant world-famous words: "Non abbiamo paura della pubblicità dei documenti." For this reason Pastor dedicated his first volume of the *History of the Popes* to Leo, "den Eroeffner des Vatikanischen Archivs."

The first impression of our historian, as he saw himself face to face with this almost inexhaustible treasure of documents, must have been overwhelming. This is evident from his criticism, which he wrote in 1880, on the *Spicilegium Ossoriense* or "collection of original letters and papers illustrating the history of the Irish Church from the Reformation to the year 1880." Here he greatly admired the work of the future Cardinal Moran who had gathered these papers while he was Vice-Rector of the Irish College in Rome, and he invited the historical students of the whole world to come to Rome and gather in a larger measure for their individual nations what could be found there.

Pastor worked so incessantly at this fund of historical information that he was forced to abandon the task because of a nervous breakdown he suffered while doing it. Of a robust constitution, he gradually recuperated his spent energy and again set to work.

Meanwhile the first fruit of his *opus magnum* was maturing. In 1886 the first volume of the *Geschichte der Paepste seit dem*

Ausgang des Mittelalters came off the press. The title was not original, but an adaptation from Janssen's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters,* the first volume of which had appeared in 1876. Even the cover, the printing, and the arrangement reminded readers of Janssen's volumes. We may also be sure that Pastor submitted many of his statements to his former teacher, Janssen, as the latter frequently consulted his former pupil about his own publications. This method, in fact, became characteristic of Pastor; often he incorporated the results of special studies verbatim in his work, giving, of course, the authors just due for them. In justification thereof, he wrote in one of his articles: "I will not try to say better something that already has been said well by another."

It may be well to state here, that Pastor frequently consulted the best authorities on questions of art, literature, theology, and statesmanship, as far as they pertained to his subject. To give only a few examples: Dr. Heinrich, the eminent theologian of Mainz, examined the semi-Lutheran formula of faith of 1541, and pronounced Cardinal Contarini's attitude toward it orthodox; likewise a comparison between the first edition and the last edition of his now famous third volume must convince anyone of the integrity with which Pastor dealt with the question of the moral life of Pope Alexander VI, and what prominent medical authorities he consulted in the "poison case" of the same pontiff. Such expert advice and assistance make the work doubly valuable.

As a direct forerunner to the publication of the *History of the Popes,* Pastor published a number of monographs in the leading Catholic historical reviews of Germany. Especially noteworthy are those that appeared in the *Katholik,* and the *Historisches Jahrbuch* of which he later became an associate editor. The first monograph appeared in the *Katholik* in 1875 under the title *Georg Waitz als preussischer Geschichtsmonopolist.* In this essay Pastor endeavored to show from Waitz's *Quellenkunde,* a collection of the principal works on historical topics, that the compiler treated the Catholic publications unfairly, and, therefore, that these sources could serve as an example of de Maistre's well-known phrase, "that the history of the last three centuries was

a conspiracy against the truth." It is likely, too, during that time that Pastor received a fresh incentive to write a history of the popes from his reading of the *du Pape* of this celebrated French apologist. At least this seems probable from a footnote in which he quotes the following words from de Maistre: "L'erreur si elle n'est pas soutenue par des proscriptions, ne tiendra contre la verité." The treatise itself does not show any special talent, but it is very rich in material to prove his thesis.

A second historical dissertation entitled *Neue Quellenberichte ueber den Reformator Albrecht von Bradenburg* appeared during the next year, in the same magazine. The theme was more highly developed, but the style was too vehement to be truly scientific. This article attacked the *Geschichts-Baumeisterei* of Voigt and Ranke with regard to the introduction of the Reformation in the territories of the Teutonic knights. It was really the first treatise that revealed the extraordinary talents of our historian.

Pastor took as the basic point of his subject the notes of Philip von Creutz, a Teutonic knight. These notes had lately, 1874, been published in the *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*. First he examined these memoranda critically as to their genuineness and trustworthiness. From them he proved that many of the means which the grand-master Albrecht used to rob the knights and the people of their faith were insidious, and that, consequently, the descriptions of those "idols of historiography at Berlin" could not be true. Moreover, when his investigations revealed that the grand-master had as accomplices Bishops Erhart Queis of Pomerania, and George Polenz of Samland, he was equally fearless in attributing to them their share and the part they played in bringing about these religious and political changes in East Prussia. Especially significant in this article are Pastor's concluding words: "We can see how fatal was the bad example of these prelates. A special investigation relative to the influence of the bishops on the reformation, would be of historical interest. It may, however, be safely said that, where the bishops apostatized the reformation succeeded, where they remained firm there was no danger, because the bishops are the pillars of truth."

Three years later Pastor published his first book, *Die kirchlichen Reunionsbestrebungen waehrend der Regierung Karls V.* The subject was the same which he submitted and defended for the doctorate. In extent it went over 500 pages, and in matter it included the treasures obtained recently from the papal archives. Also the style was different—it had become graceful and refined. All this made a favorable impression on the critics. The writer of the book review in the *Katholik* wrote: "We recommend this book to everyone that wishes to have information about the age of the reformation, and we hope sincerely that the author will yet do great things in the realm of history. Apparently he has the ability and the enthusiasm for such work. May God grant him His grace."

As soon as the first volume of the *History* came off the press, Pastor was generally hailed as a great historian, and was compared with Ranke. His former teacher, Janssen, wrote a criticism of the work in the *Katholik*, saying that its principal merit consisted in the rich archival investigations taken from over one hundred depositories all over Europe. The same careful and almost scrupulous task of searching into the records and documents in the libraries of the Old World was energetically done for the succeeding volumes. Particularly interesting is the praise that was lavished upon it by the non-Catholic literary organs. In 1887 the *Historich-Politische Blaetter* collected into an article, "Pastor's Papstgeschichte und die gegnerische Kritik," all the adverse criticisms, and it could find very little that would do serious damage to his work. Even the *Zeitschrift fuer Oeffentliche Angelegenheiten* (Berlin) declared: "This immense material has been united into a work which will be well received by the educated both Catholic as well as Protestant. The subject is full of interest, and the vivid, realistic, and elegant style, the objective view, and the very candid treatment of his matter will surprise Protestant readers. Pastor does not hesitate to criticize several popes, to show their weaknesses and faults, and to compare them with other men of the times."

In the introduction to the first volume the author himself informs us how methodically he proceeded to bring about such stu-

pendous results which surprised both friend and foe. To this must be added another point of great significance, that he had an extraordinary capacity for work, spending twelve to sixteen hours a day at his subject with but few intermissions. Even his vacation months were largely spent in the archives, "from Upsala and Stockholm to Palermo, and from Cracow to Madrid," gathering material. His notes were illegible to many, but not to his wife, the daughter of the Oberbuergermeister Kaufmann of Bonn, "who," as Dr. Huhn once said, "learned to read his handwriting during the period before their marriage and afterwards became an associate editor." Pastor, moreover, had a remarkable memory, and, like his predecessor Ranke, gradually acquired such a fine historic sense that often he detected the genuineness or spuriousness of a document at first sight.

French and Italian historians were equally delighted with his *History of the Popes*. Eugene Muentz, the best authority of the time on the Renaissance, accepted gratefully in the October issue of the *Revue Critique* (1886) several corrections suggested by Pastor. Dr. Ulysse Chevalier, the author of the *Répertoire*, declared in the *Polybiblion* of November, 1886, that "this work, the fruit of enormous investigations, is destined to efface (*effacer*) in France similar works of André and Christophe." The leading historical journal in Italy, the *Archivo storico Italiano*, asserted: "The book is written as objectively as possible. The author has proven with this first volume that he has ability to finish such a grand work. . . . He does not hesitate to express his opinion freely as it is the duty of any one that has formed a firm conviction."

Later, when Pastor's *History* was translated into these languages, these encomiums were repeated. To give only one from the *Polybiblion* of 1888: "L'Histoire des Papes par M. le docteur Louis Pastor, a été reçue dans le monde savant avec la plus grande faveur. Les immenses recherches auxquelles l'auteur s'est livré dans les archives de l'Europe, principalement dans celles encore peu explorées du Vatican, promettaient une ample moisson de documents inédits qui pouvaient mettre en lumière plus d'un fait intéressant."

On January 20, 1887, also Pope Leo XIII sent the following congratulatory message to Dr. Pastor: "Ab ista lucubrationum tuarum priore parte, cui quidem suffragium idoneorum virorum videmus non defuisse, conjecturam facere de reliquarum bonitate licet. . . . Nec sane facultatem ingenii tui usquam poteras utilius sanctiusque collocare, quam in illustrandis diligenter ac sincere rebus gestis Pontificum maximorum, quorum laudibus tam saepe invidere vel temporum inuria consuevit vel hominum obtrectatio malevola."

The first review of the *History* in English appeared in the *Dublin Review* in 1886. Since it was written, however, by Monsignor Bellesheim of Aachen, the celebrated student of Irish and Scotch history, it can not be accepted as a purely English or Irish critique. The first American criticism was published in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* in 1889, by the Rev. John A. Mooney who became enthusiastic in its praise. He even went so far as to make public the current rumor that Dr. Pastor was to occupy the chair of history at the Catholic University of America, at the same time expressing the hope that a school for Catholic church-historians would be established when he would take up his duties in Washington. Happily for the author, the rumor never became a fact; it would have been impossible for him to continue his great work, removed as he would have been from the great sources and fonts of information.

At that time, the second volume of Pastor's history, treating of the pontificates of Pius II to Sixtus IV, had already come off the press, and scholars acclaimed it as a more perfect work than the first volume. In his joy Janssen wrote to him: "Macte virtute tua." Pastor, in this second volume, also answered his critics in a special *Nachwort*. Some may see in this mode of defense an imitation of Janssen's *An meine Kritiker*, but the style is his own, and its meaning very clear: "No compromise with falsehood, especially when it comes from the pen of professors who should know better."

This attitude involved Pastor in many literary controversies. He was ready to accept the judgment of better information and criticism, but he never relented when he saw that the opposition

came from ignorance or was begotten out of malice. This *Nachwort* also proves how minutely his adversaries examined and scrutinized every document to find flaws, and how little, too, they succeeded in their quest.

One of the most adverse declarations of this sort appeared in the *English Historical Review* shortly after the publication of the second volume of his history in 1889. In this review Dr. Garnett could not deny Pastor's "great merits, the extent of his research, and his references and citations", yet he wrote that "notwithstanding his access to contemporary documents, he made no remarkable addition to our previous knowledge", that "he endeavored to steer a middle course and flatters himself that he is impartial while he was only cautious." Finally, he regarded the work only "as a most useful guide to the contemporary literature on its subject, published and unpublished." Nay even the critic in such an historical journal could not control his bias by saying "philosophical history is not to be expected from devout Roman Catholics."

There can be no doubt that such an unfair criticism was not caused by chance. Even six years later, in 1895, after Pastor's third and famous volume on Alexander VI and Julius II appeared, the same critic wrote again: "It is too manifestly the work of an advocate, no doubt, so convinced of the soundness of his cause, that he does not mind making damaging admissions—but still an advocate. In this respect especially the author contrasts unfavorably with Bishop Creighton, who writes like a statesman. No one could tell from internal evidence whether Creighton's history was or was not the production of an ecclesiastic, but could never doubt Pastor's was such."

Pastor did not answer this critic who was so sure that our married professor of Innsbruck, with five children to care for, "was an ecclesiastic". It is, however, certain that Pastor knew of this adverse criticism. In another issue of the *Review* (1897), Gairdner corrected a statement of Garnett concerning Pastor's interpretation of an English document, and Pastor accepted this suggestion in the next edition of the third volume (1924).

It is very probable that this early and unfair treatment, which

Pastor received from such a biased reviewer, contributed much to keep the work from English readers. It was only in 1910, when the fourth volume was published, that Pastor's *History of the Popes* became more favorably known in the British Isles. Thus, in volume XXV, of the *English Historical Review*, Mr. J. P. Whitney wrote: "These volumes have the qualities which we now expect from a writer: fulness of detail always under perfect control, command of the literature down to the latest discussions, and skilled use of much unprinted material." In the same article Whitney compared Pastor with Creighton and placed him far above the latter, especially in the conception of what the papacy is in itself, and what it is for civilization. The comparison ends with these words: "It is possible to lay down Creighton and say about any given pope of whom we have been reading, 'that is all true, but, after all, what was he as pope?' We do not think that any reader of Pastor would need ask the question, for he would find it answered as he read."

In the United States, Dr. George L. Burr, in the first volume of the *American Historical Review* (1895), and the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector emeritus of the Catholic University, in the first volume of the *University Bulletin* (1895), laid the foundation for the veneration of Pastor as an historian. The latter stated: "Pastor emphasizes more than any other disciple of Janssen the peculiar methods of his master. This method based on exhaustive detail, almost finical accuracy of citations and immediate control of every statement of fact or event likely to have any importance. It is seldom that the demands of the new historical school have so abundantly been satisfied."

Quite frequently Ranke and Creighton and Pastor are compared as to their importance as historians of the popes. The first deals with the papacy as a great political and religious force, but partly covers it with a veil of mysticism. He had only a limited access to the papal archives, as he himself says in his introduction. This leaves much to the reader's subjectivism. For this reason Ranke's history has become so fascinating to honest Protestants and non-offensive to "liberal" Catholics; but it distorts all true notion of the papacy.

On the other hand Creighton looked upon the papacy as a beautiful institution in which most of the forces of mankind are centered. To describe it, however, he stands, as it were, in a Roman atrium and gazes into the mansion's main hall from which power and pleasure radiate. According to his own statement in the introduction to his history, he wrote his history with only a few studies of sources. His style, however, is most persuasive. For this reason, Lord Acton said well of Creighton's work that "it is by the spirit that this work will live."

Pastor's presentation of the history of the papacy is that of a Catholic judge who examines every phase of this great institution: the material, the spiritual, and the divine. He is the first historian that had full liberty to use the secret papal archives and the one who made the most use of them. To render a fair criticism he looks at every document in itself and its relation to others; he consults all experts who have the best interpretation of them; he considers the spirit of the times from the Vicars of Christ down to the humblest person, and thus describes, to the best of his ability and with absolute historic candor the events "as they actually were."

For this reason Ranke's history of the popes became an historical monument of the best production on this subject, one hundred years ago, and the many subsequent editions were never altered. Creighton's history of the same subject is a masterpiece of historical literature. Pastor's account is a scientific work which gives the events of those times with the papacy as the center. If at times his adversaries suspected apologetical tendencies, because the author was a man of deep faith and a daily communicant, he met this objection from the very beginning of his great work with the well-known words of Pertz: "Die beste Verteidigung der Paepste ist die Enthuellung ihres Seins".

To use a comparison, Ranke presents Clio to his readers as a goddess half-clad, and thus causes greater curiosity. Creighton places her on the stage to be admired by the multitude. Pastor shows her in full light as a Roman matron with the scroll in her hand, and the word "Truth" written thereon.

As one volume followed the other, the original plan soon proved

too narrow, and when every new book seemed to outstrip its predecessor in wealth of material, elegance of style, and perfection of presentation, many honors were conferred upon the author. We can only mention a few. In 1887, Pastor became ordinary professor of history at the University of Innsbruck in spite of the opposition from some of his colleagues. Gradually also many of the seats of higher learning honored him with academic titles. One of them conferred the doctorate of theology upon him. The University of Breslau deemed him, a layman, worthy of such rare honor. In 1901, the government of his adopted country entrusted him with the directorate of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome. Later in 1907, Emperor Francis Joseph raised him to the rank of an hereditary nobleman with the name of Camperfelden.

In 1914, when the world-war broke out, Ludwig von Pastor was in Rome preparing his seventh volume for the press. But he was deterred; " inter arma silent musae " likewise applied to him. In 1915, when Italy entered the war, he was forced to leave Rome. He succeeded in transferring his valuable material to Innsbruck, where during the next five years he strove hard to complete his life's literary monument. For some time after the close of the war the prevalent economic conditions endangered the prosecution of his work. In 1920, however, he gave his seventh volume to the literary world. When the new government appointed him diplomatic representative at the Vatican, he was again able to return to Rome which had become very dear to him. Pope Benedict XV, his trusted friend, welcomed him back and encouraged him in his literary endeavors. Since that eventful return to Rome, five more volumes were published by him.

It is related that Pastor once asked the blessing of the saintly Pope Piux X that he might have the grace to finish his work. The Holy Pontiff assured him that he would live long enough to see his prayers fulfilled. During the summer months of 1928 our historian felt that he could truly now say " bonum opus operatus sum ", for he had completed his sixteenth and last volume, which was to give the history of the popes of the second part of the eighteenth century. This he confided to only a few of his closest friends. Therefore, when the news of his death was made

known, many wondered and asked who would continue his history. The publishers, however, allayed their fears, when they officially announced that the historian had completed his task, and that the manuscript was in their keeping. Besides, they gave assurance that the remaining three volumes would appear in the near future.

Thus Ludwig von Pastor's *History of the Popes* will, when completed, comprise sixteen volumes, three of the double-volume type, in the German edition. It may be added that the history is being translated into the French, English, Italian, and Spanish languages. So far the English edition comprises sixteen volumes of 400-500 pages each, the entire work to embrace at least twenty-five volumes.

That our "Romanorum Pontificum historiographus celeberrimus", as Pope Pius XI addressed him on his seventieth birthday, will always rank among the best historians of the papacy, is an assured fact. This is attested generally by those who have passed close and critical judgment upon him. We may add, too, for the inquiring student that this, his life-work, was not the only work in the field of history to which he lent his time and study.

He became the literary heir of Janssen. In the course of the last three decades he finished, revised, enlarged, and perfected that masterpiece of his former professor and friend, *The History of the German People*, in eight volumes. Likewise he published a large number of biographies of men of both State and Church. In this regard, he blazed to a certain extent a new path for hagiography.

After his examination of the various biographies of Pope Pius V, he came to the conclusion that the twenty-six works of this class of literary study failed either by saying too much or advancing too little in portraying the statesman and saint. Pastor ended the volume on Pius V with these words: "As I wrote already in the *Theologische Rundschau* of 1898, I repeat here: 'It is high time that the rococo-period of the biographies of saints should come to an end. They do not need pious fiction; they can well bear the sunlight of historical criticism, yes they will only profit thereby.'"

With this aim of leading the way he also published several such

"Lives of Saints". This spirit has already produced a number of others. Truly, then, can we say that Ludwig von Pastor has prepared a new era in hagiology in which historical criticism will only emphasize that "Deus est mirabilis in sanctis suis."

P. Felix Fellner, O. S. B.

MISCELLANY

CATHOLIC MILITARY AND NAVAL CHAPLAINS, 1776-1917.[1]

I. American Revolution:

Louis E. Lotbiniere, diocese of Quebec; with Colonel Livingston's Regiment.

P. R. Floquet, S. J., Montreal; associated with Colonel Hazen.

Pierre Gibault: friend of the American cause in the West; with Clark on the Vincennes expedition.

Ninety-eight chaplains accompanied the French forces to America. There were 11 army chaplains; 38 with the squadron of D'Estaing, 32 with De Grasse, 12 with the squadrons of De Guichen and De Grasse, and 16 with the squadron of De Ternay. The names of these are printed in *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine, 1778-1783* (translated, 1903). After the war all returned to France save Paul de St. Pierre, Carmelite, who died in the Illinois county; Father Rossiter, who labored in Philadelphia; and Charles Whalen, Franciscan, who remained for a time in New York.

II. War with Mexico:

John McElroy, S. J., of Holy Trinity, Georgetown, D. C.

Anthony Rey, S. J., Georgetown College.

III. To Civil War:

Samuel Milley, Monterey, Calif., Sept. 28, 1849-Feb., 1850.

Ignacio Ramirez, Monterey, Calif., 1850-June 30, 1852.

Michael Sheehan, Ft. Belknap, Tex., Apr. 13, 1855-Feb. 23, 1859.

Peter J. De Smet, S. J.: with General Harney's expedition against the Mormons; later, worked among the Oregon Indians.

[1] Abstracted from the author's work of the same title now in press (Washington, 1929, pp. vii, 165). For names of chaplains beyond this date, see George J. Waring, *U. S. Catholic Chaplains in the World War* (N. Y., 1924).

IV. Civil War:

1. A considerable number of priests administered to the needs of the soldiers in their vicinity. They were not commissioned by the government, so that their names do not appear on the official rolls. Among these "unofficial" chaplains were: Cardinal Gibbons, Bishop McQuade, Fathers Bourget, C. S. C., William Cook, Michael Creedin, L. du Mortier, S. J., Basil Elia, N. H. Gieson, Terreol Girardy, C. SS. R., Arthur Haviland, E. B. Kilroy, C. S. C., Andrew Michael, Daniel Moore, John T. Nealis, O. P., Bernard O'Riley, S. J., M. Heidencamp, Father Hamilton of Andersonville Prison fame, Ghislain Boheme, Felix Carr, Plunkett, and Dugan.

2. *Hospital chaplains:*

These were appointed by the President under act of Congress of May 20, 1862, and were subject to the orders of the Surgeon General. These were:

Boyle, Francis E., Maryland; at U. S. Hospital, Washington, D. C.

Bruehl, James, New York City; hospital service at Beaufort, N. C., and New Orleans, La.

Egan, C. L. Further details lacking.

McCarthy, P. F., born in Ireland, resident of the District of Columbia; U. S. Hospital, Georgetown, D. C.

McGlynn, Edward, New York; U. S. Hospital, New York.

McGrane, Peter, a native of Ireland, with residence in Philadelphia; U. S. Hospital, Philadelphia.

McGrath, M. F., born in Ireland, residing in the District of Columbia; U. S. Hospital, Georgetown.

Maloy, Patrick A., U. S. Hospital, Alton, Ill.

Ryan, J. P., appointed to the U. S. Hospital at St. Louis, June 23, 1862, but declined, June 27.

Stephan, Joseph A., native of Germany, residing in Indiana; U. S. Hospital, Nashville.

Vahey, John, born in Ireland, residing in Illinois; U. S. Hospital, Alton, Ill.

Wiget, Bernardin, born in Switzerland, living in the District of Columbia; U. S. Hospital, Washington.

Willet, Thomas, a native of Canada, residing in North Carolina; U. S. Hospital, Newbern, N. C. See also next classification.

3. *Chaplains in the Volunteer Regiments of the Union Army:*

Brady, Thomas M., Detroit, 15 Mich. Inf.

Butler, Thaddeus J., 23 Ill. Inf.

Carrier, J. C., C. S. C., 6 Mo. Inf.

Christy, Richard C., 78 Pa. Inf.; mustered out at Kitanning, Pa.

Cooney, Peter P., C. S. C., 35 Ind. Inf.

Corby, William, C. S. C., 88 N. Y. Inf.

Corcoran, Edward P., 61 Ohio Inf.

Dillon, James M., S. J., of New York, 63 N. Y. Inf.

Doane, George H., on staff on N. J. Brigade Militia. His regiment enlisted for three months only, May-July, 1861.

Egan, Costney L., O. P., 9 Mass. Inf.

Fusseder, Francis, 24 Wis. Inf.

Geselachowski (Gayelachomski, Gzrelausky), Alexander, 2 N. Mex. Inf.

Gillen, Paul E., C. S. C., 170 N. Y. Inf.

Gombettelli, James, 13 Pa. Cav.

Ireland, John, later Archbishop of St. Paul, 5 Minn. Inf.

Kelly, Thomas, 90 Ill. Inf.

Lambert, Louis A., 18 Ill. Inf.

Lemagie, Charles L., 2 La. Cav.

McAtee, Francis, 31 N. Y. Inf.

McCollum (McCullum), Bernard, 116 Pa. Inf.

McCosker, John, 55 Pa. Inf.; enrolled at Harrisburg, died while on leave of absence after six months of service.

McKee, Edward, 116 Pa. Inf.; enrolled at Harrisburg.

McMahon, Laurence, the fifth Bishop of Hartford, 28 Mass. Inf.

Martin, Michael F., 69 Pa. Inf.

Miettinger (Mettinger), Gustavus, born in Germany, 2 N. Y. Inf.

Mignault, Napoleon, 17 Wis. Inf.

Mooney, Thomas H., 69 N. Y. Inf.

Mullen, Daniel, 9 Conn. Inf.

Murphy, Patrick J. R., 58 Ill. Inf.

Nash, Michael, S. J., 6 N. Y. Inf.

O'Brien, Edward, 17 Ill. Cav.; later Superintendent of Refugees and Freedmen, Rolla and Jefferson City, Mo.

O'Brien, Nicholas, 28 Mass. Inf.; never joined his regiment, discharged after five months.

O'Hagan, Joseph G., S. J., 73 N. Y. Inf.

O'Higgins, William T., 10 Ohio Inf.

Ouellett. See Willett.

Quinn, Thomas, 1 R. I. Inf., 1 R. I. Light Artillery.

Rizzo, Leo, 9 Conn. Inf.

Scully, Thomas, 9 Mass. Inf.

Taladrid, Damaso, 1 N. Mex. Inf. Reference to him in Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop.*

Tissot, Peter, S. J., 37 N. Y. Inf.

Willett (Ouellett), Thomas, 69 N. Y. Inf.

4. *Confederate Chaplains:*

A real difficulty presents itself in compiling a complete and official list of the Catholic chaplains in the Confederate armies. Was Father Abram Ryan, for example, an official or merely an unofficial chaplain? Some authorities say the "poet-priest of the South" was with the Army of Northern Virginia, but he seems to have been filling a pastorate in Nashville between September and December, 1862. For lack of proper proof, his name is omitted from this list.

Bannon, John, St. Louis. He was with Price's Missouri militia, but was later released for diplomatic service, and was sent as commissioner to Ireland.

Barber, Samuel B., S. J., teacher in Georgetown and Gonzaga colleges, Washington, D. C., 4th Va.

Bliemel, Emmeran, O. S. B., St. Vincent's, Beatty, Pa., 10th Tenn.; killed at battle of Jonesboro while hearing the confession of a dying soldier.

Brown (Broune), Henry V., 10th Tenn.

Carius, Anthony, 1 La. Inf.

Coyle, Patrick F., of Florida; duty with the 3d Brigade.

Croghan, C. J., served at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Va.; died at Charleston, Aug. 3, 1880.

Cunningham, James T., 3d Miss. Inf.

De Chaignon, A., 18th La.

Dicharry, P. F., 3d La. Inf.

Gache (Guache), Hippolite, native of France, resident of New Orleans; regiment unknown.

Hubert, Darius, S. J., 1st La.; died, June 14, 1893, at St. Stanislaus Novitiate, Macon, Ga.

Jarboe, Joseph T., O. P., 2d Tenn.

Jordan, William H., of Anson Co., N. C., 18th N. C.

Leray, Francis X., later Bishop of Natchitoches, Miss., and Archbishop of New Orleans; post chaplain at Oxford, Miss.

Manucy, Dominic, first Vicar-Apostolic of Brownsville, Tex., to which vicariate he returned after serving as Bishop of Mobile; St. Mary's Hospital, Montgomery, Ala.

Meredith, William C., 4th Va. Cav.

Mouton, John B., of Mississippi; hospital service on Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

O'Connell, Laurence P., hospital at Montgomery White Sulphur Springs, Va.

O'Keefe, M., assigned to General Blanchard.

O'Riely, Thomas, a native of Ireland, residing at Atlanta; hospital service in Atlanta and elsewhere.

Pellicier, Anthony D., later Bishop of San Antonio, post chaplain at St. Mary's Hospital, Montgomery, Ala.

Pont (Point), Francis, of Mississippi; with General Bragg.

Prachensky (Pranchensky, Branchensky), Joseph, S. J., 3d Ala.

Ryan, Patrick, post chaplain, Charleston.

Schmulders (Schmoulders, Shmilders), Egidius, 8th La. Inf.

Sheeran (Sherron, Sheerin, Sheran, Shearin, Sheenan), James, C. SS. R., 14th La. Inf.

Whelan (Wheelan), Peter, service unknown; captured at Ft. Pulaski, Ga.

V. Regular Army, 1866-1916:

Meslié, Toussaint, Idaho City, born in France, 1872-1884.

Dunbar, George W., Belmont, N. Y., 1876; died as retired officer, April 5, 1911.

Lindesmith, Eli W. J., of vicariate of Nebraska, appointed 1880.

Dolphin, John F., St. Paul, 1888-1893.

Larkin, William J., native of Ireland, appointed from Illinois, 1889-1891.

Vattmann, Edmund J., diocese of Cleveland; served in War with Spain and World War, 1890-1919. Died Sept. 29, 1919.

Hart, Patrick J., native of Ohio, appointed from archdiocese of St. Paul, 1893.

Fitzgerald, Edward H., native of Ireland, appointed from diocese of St. Joseph, Mo., 1897-1909; died May 24, 1918.

McKinnon, William D., appointed from California, 1899; died as chaplain of 3d Cavalry, Sept. 25, 1902. See Spanish-American War.

Bader, Albert J., archdiocese of New York, 1901.

Colbert, William, archdiocese of St. Paul, 1901.

O'Keefe, Timothy P., native of Kansas, of the archdiocese of Santa Fe, appointed 1901.

Doherty, Francis B., appointed from California, 1902-1920; died at Palermo, Italy, Dec. 22, 1928.

Carey, Patrick P., of New York, 1902.

Dalton, James A., a native of the District of Columbia, 1902.

Ferry, John A., Brooklyn, 1903-1913.

Murphy, Andrew C., C. M., native of Illinois, 1903-1913.

Waring, George J., (Monsignor), born in England, appointed from diocese of Dubuque, 1905-1920.

Joyce, Francis, Wichita, Kan., 1905.

Casey, Joseph, a native of Missouri, 1905-1909.

Brennan, Neil P., archdiocese of Boston, 1907-1910.

Kunnecke, Frederick L., vicariate of North Carolina, 1908-1914.

Chase, Monsignor Edward R., vicariate of Brownsville, Tex., 1908-1913; died in service.

Denning, Laurence L., archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1908.

Doran, Michael G., New York, 1908-1915.

Feinler, Franz J., diocese of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., 1909.

Rivera, Juan, native of Porto Rico, appointed from there, 1909; resigned the following year.

O'Sullivan, Denis B., of Newport, R. I.; served a few months in 1909.

Kennedy, Joseph C., a native of Missouri; appointed from Oregon, 1909-1916.

Houlihan, James F., diocese of Scranton, 1910.
Landry, Alexander P., Oregon, 1911-1915.
Brophy, Edward F., diocese of Brooklyn, 1911.
Kangley, Joseph M., from diocese of Peoria, 1912-1919.
Lenehan, Jeremiah A., born in Pennsylvania; appointed from diocese of Wichita, 1912-1917.
Arnold, William R., diocese of Ft. Wayne, 1912.
Rochford, John E., Buffalo, 1913.
Fealy, Ignatius, native of Missouri, appointed from archdiocese of Baltimore, 1914.
Kelley, Thomas L., born in Massachusetts, appointed from diocese of Lincoln, Neb., 1914.
Griffin, Edward J., Kansas City, 1916.
Kelly, Francis A., Albany, 1916.
Loughran, Joseph S., Los Angeles, 1916.
Garriga, Mariano S., born at Point Isabel, Tex.; commissioned, 1916.
Francky, H. Valentin, native of Belgium, 1916-1917.

VI. Navy Chaplains:

There are no records of Navy chaplains before 1846. In 1863, Father Kilroy, of Notre Dame University, was the first Catholic to be tendered a commission, but he declined it, accepting instead an appointment from Governor Morton to visit troops in Indiana.

Parks, Charles H., archdiocese of New York, 1888-1900; he died in 1907.
Reaney, William H., archdiocese of Baltimore, 1892; he died in 1915.
Chidwick, John P. (Monsignor), archdiocese of New York, 1895-1903; chaplain on the ill-fated *Maine*.
Rennolds, Louis P., archdiocese of Baltimore, 1900-1914.
McGrail, Joseph P., diocese of Springfield, 1901.
Brennan, Edward J., diocese of Hartford, 1901-1909.
McDonald, Eugene, archdiocese of Philadelphia, 1902.
Gleeson, Matthew C., archdiocese of New York, 1903-1925; cited for valor in explosion on *Missouri*, 1904; died, 1927.
McGinty, Joseph M. F., archdiocese of New York, 1905; died at Annapolis, 1915.
Brodman, Edmund A., diocese of Alton, 1910.

Brady, John J., archdiocese of New York, 1914.
Bouffard, Irenee J., diocese of Providence, 1915.
Burke, Eugene S., archdiocese of New York, 1915.
Kranz, George B., diocese of Erie, 1915.
Duff, Edward A., diocese of Charleston, 1916.
Short, J. C., diocese of Green Bay, 1916.

VII. SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, VOLUNTEER ARMY:

All were, of course, commissioned in 1898.

Bader, Albert J., 12 N. Y. Inf. See Regular Army, *supra.*
Colbert, William, 14 Minn. Inf.
Daly, William J. B., 69 N. Y. Inf.
Gleason, Joseph M., 21 and 30 U. S. Inf., and 5 Field Artillery; during Boxer outbreak was with army in China.
Kelly, Edward A., of Brooklyn, 7 Ill. Inf.
Kirwin, James M., 1 U. S. Inf.; St. Mary's Cathedral, Galveston; 20 years later he returned to the service as chaplain during the World War.
McKinnon, William D., 1 Calif. Inf.; wounded near Manila, Aug. 13, 1898. See Regular Army, *supra.*
Murphy, Patrick B., born in Cork, Ire., 9 Mass. Inf.
Sherman, Thomas E., St. Louis, 4 Missouri Inf.
Among the unofficial chaplains during the war with Spain were: Francis P. Duffy, Gerard Spielmann, O. S. B., J. N. Connelly, and W. J. White.

Because of the recent work of Monsignor George J. Waring, *U. S. Catholic Chaplains in the World War* (N. Y., 1924), this study was not carried through that war.

DOM AIDAN HENRY GERMAIN, O. S. B.

THE ORIGIN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE

There are two universities in Prague today, the German and the Czech Charles-University, but up to 1882 these two universities formed one single body, the Carolo-Ferdinandea University, whose origin is to be sought in past centuries.

Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Emperor of Germany, founded in 1348, in the capital of his kingdom, the first university of the empire, the Carolina, whose organization was based upon that of the universities of Paris and Bologna. It had four faculties, those of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. The courses were given by Catholic lecturers, since the movement for religious reform in Bohemia had not yet begun. Five decades later, however, John Hus, a member of the teaching body of the university, began to teach his new religious doctrines and many of the teachers and students left the Catholic Church. They became Hussites, and later Utraquists and Bohemian Brethren, and in the sixteenth century some joined the Lutheran Church. As a result the university, from a Catholic point of view, became completely heretical.

Upon the death of the then King of Bohemia, Ludwig II (Jagello) in 1526, the Austrian House of Hapsburgs succeeded to the throne. They, being faithful Catholics, sought to reintroduce Catholicism, and asked the Jesuits for their aid. In 1562, Ferdinand I founded a college under Jesuit control with faculties of theology and philosophy. This was the Ferdinandea. Henceforth Prague had two colleges, the Carolina and the Ferdinandea, but for the next few decades there was little intercourse between them.

In the seventeenth century the relations of Catholics and Protestants grew more tense, and in 1618, religious war broke out in Prague which was to involve all Europe for thirty years. In the beginning, the Protestants were successful; they banished the Catholic clergy from the kingdom and the Jesuits of the Ferdinandea had to leave the country while their collegiate building was turned into a barracks. When, two years later, they were defeated and the Hapsburgs regained their lost provinces, the Jesuits were restored. They resumed possession of their old property, but not being very friendly towards the Carolina, asked Ferdinand II to place it under their control. The Emperor agreed and the Carolina was united with the Jesuit college. As a result the Jesuits were enabled to control the teaching, property,

and endowments of the former non-Jesuit university, and a struggle began which lasted until 1654.

One of the chief causes of controversy was in regard to the teaching of theology and philosophy. Of course, teaching was confined to Catholics. Up to the time of the union, the Jesuits had had a monopoly in the teaching of philosophy and theology in their own college while the older orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians had taught, or at least had had the right to teach, these subjects in the Carolina, but now that this latter had been joined to the Ferdinandea, it no longer had independent faculties and the older Orders felt themselves to be excluded from all training of Catholic youth.

On the foundation of the University, Charles IV granted the chancellorship to the Archbishops of Prague. This included jurisdiction over teachers and students, control over the teaching, censorship of text-books and other rights. Under the new arrangements, the archbishops lost all these rights because the Jesuits declared that they could be dependent upon no one other than their general in Rome.

The older Orders and the archbishops, first, Lohelius and, after 1623, Ernest Harrach, consequently became allies and had the backing both of Urban VIII, who at that time was not on very good terms with the Hapsburgs, and of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, recently founded for the spread of Catholicism. The Jesuits, on the other hand, had considerable influence with the emperor, Ferdinand IV, whose confessor, Father Lamorain, was a Jesuit. Thus the struggle over the University of Prague took on a grave international importance. In an endeavor to effect a settlement, there were conferences in Prague, Vienna, and Rome.

In 1627, the archbishop claimed that graduations from the university without his participation were invalid, and succeeded in putting a stop to them. He urged Propaganda to forbid the Jesuits to graduate any students until a definite solution of the controversy had been achieved. For eleven years there were no graduations from Prague.

The archbishop was reluctant to see the older Orders deprived of the opportunity to teach, and so he started an archiepiscopal college, the Ernestinum, from which the Jesuits were excluded. It was not till 1636 that courses began. The Jesuits, fearing that the new college would lessen the number of their pupils, tried to deny the new college the right to confer degrees. Conferences again took place in an

attempt to settle affairs. The leading men on the side of the archbishops were the Capuchin, Father Valerius Magni, and his friend Basilius d'Ayre, Don Florio da Cremona, and the Nuncio, Caraffa. The Jesuit, Roderigo Arriaga, was very active in the later years of the struggle.

The secular faculties, those of law and medicine, were dissatisfied with their connection with the Jesuit college because they were denied the right to hold the *Rectorat* (or presidency) of the entire university, in rotation, as had been the custom in the old Carolina previous to the union. The Jesuits declared that they would never be subject to a secular rector. Besides, the Jesuits had control of the property of the secular faculties which had large estates and which had formerly been independent in financial matters. Hence the professors of law and medicine were eager to rid themselves of Jesuit control.

As long as Ferdinand II was alive, no change could be expected, but on his death in 1637 everyone hoped for a new arrangement. Ferdinand III, the son of the late emperor, was less dependent upon the Jesuits, and required them to give up all their rights over the secular faculties and to hand over their property. He did not, however, return this to the Carolina faculties, but kept it under his own control, and regulated even their internal administration through a "Protector". They had become independent of the Jesuits only to become dependent upon the emperor. For a short time the granting of degrees was renewed.

There were now three colleges in Prague, but none of them was complete in the old sense of the word. Any complete university was supposed to have four faculties, two secular and two ecclesiastical. The Carolina had no desire to change its state, but both the Ferdinandea and the Ernestinum wanted to be united with the Carolina. They realized that their influence would be increased if this was accomplished.

The archbishop had not gained anything through the decision of Ferdinand III. He did not even regain the chancellorship of the re-created two-faculty Carolina. Hence he was anxious for another change, as were the Pope and Propaganda.

For ten years futile negotiations took place, when in the summer of 1654, Ferdinand III took matters into his own hands and decreed the union of the Carolina and the Jesuit College under the name of the Carolo-Ferdinandea. The archbishop regained the chancellorship

with its annexed rights. The *Rectorat* was to be held in rotation by all the faculties, both ecclesiastical and secular, as before, with the difference that any member of the staff of the secular faculties could be eligible for the *Rectorat,* while in the ecclesiastical faculties, only the heads of the three Jesuit houses in Prague were eligible. The emperor had the right to appoint the teachers in the secular faculties while those of the ecclesiastical faculties had to obtain his confirmation. The salaries of the professors of law and medicine were to be paid out of the revenues of their property, and so they were independent of the Jesuits, but the administration of these estates was given to a " Superintendent ". The old orders, however, failed in all their claims. They were excluded from teaching at the university. Their only opportunity was in the archbishop's college.

The union of the two universities was celebrated with great solemnity in one of the oldest churches in Prague. In those days celebrations were of great importance to everyone, and the people of Prague realized the importance of the event.

The new Carolo-Ferdinandea had much less independence than any previous university, for the emperor ruled it rigorously through the superintendent, who had to attend the meeting of the staff and board and check any effort to limit the authority of the emperor.

Many issues, however, still remained undecided in the decision of 1654 and everyone expected further developments. There were further conferences concerning the university statutes, but to no avail. Propaganda was annoyed at the sudden decision of Ferdinand III, and Urban VIII was inclined to declare it invalid; but in 1655, there succeeded a new pope, Alexander VII, who was not interested in the struggles of the university. Hence there was no change in its constitution, which remained the same from 1654 to 1882. However, on the suppression of the order in 1773, the Jesuits ceased to give ecclesiastical courses and the older orders succeeded to their chairs.

The collegiate buildings of the Carolina and the Ferdinandea still exist in Prague, though of course they have been extensively rebuilt since the time of these struggles.

KAETHE SPIEGEL.

PAPYRUS AND EARLY VELLUM BULLS

Papal bulls up to the middle of the eleventh century were written on papyrus; from the eleventh century to the present on vellum or parchment. There are twenty-three original papyrus bulls still extant, ten of them being in Spain, eight in France, three in Italy, and two in Germany. The oldest complete papyrus bull in existence is a privilege of Paschal I, dated July 11, 819, in favor of the Archbishop of Ravenna. It measures 2.40 x 0.50 cm., and still bears the Pope's seal. The signature of the Pope is in the form of a cross and the symbolic *Bene Valete,* written in uncials, not indeed caligraphical, yet firm. The text is written in the old Roman cursive. Text, signature and *datum* are in three different handwritings. Two other alleged original fragments of papal bulls prior to this time are attributed to Gregory I (604) and Hadrian I, Jan. 22, 788. The first measures 0.20 x 0.30 cm.; the second, 0.50 x 0.23 cm. The former is preserved at Mainz; the latter in the National Archives of Paris. The originality of the first is quite doubtful and generally rejected. The last-known original papyrus bull is from the hand of Benedict VIII and directed to the Diocese of Hildesheim, 1020-1022. It is in the State Archives of Hanover. Papyrus is last mentioned by Victor II in 1057. Thereafter vellum, which off and on had been used during the course of the eleventh century, was exclusively adopted in the papal chancery. The oldest known original vellum bull is from the hand of Benedict VIII, 1013, for the Monastery of San Sepolcro, and is preserved in the State Archives of Florence. Of doubtful originality are two earlier bulls of John XVIII: the one of 1005, directed to Paderborn, preserved in the State Archives of Munster; the other, of 1007, directed to Pisa and preserved in the Archives of the Cathedral Chapter of the same city. The oldest papal bull in the Vatican Archives is from Leo IX.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. M. C.

BOOK REVIEWS

Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge. Von Bernhard Duhr. Vierter Band. Regensburg: G. J. Manzo. 1928.)

The completion of Father Duhr's fourth, and last, volume on the German Jesuits calls for more than a passing word of appreciation. Father Duhr is one of the corps of scholars who, in the nineties, undertook to write an authentic history of the society up to its suppression in 1773. The field was divided roughly according to nations. The Spanish author, Fr. Antonio Astrain, who had, at least for his earlier volumes, the most important material to handle, was the first to finish. His work is one of rare literary excellence. Fouqueray has been somewhat severely criticized for his yet unfinished history of the French assistency. Tacchi Venturi made a fine start with his two volumes on Italy, but unfortunately was drawn away from the work by other occupations. The final volume of Hughes's *History of the Jesuits in North America* should appear shortly. It will carry the story far beyond the original term, into the nineteenth century. To our deep regret, John Hungerford Pollen, the historian of the English assistency, went to his grave three years ago, bequeathing to his successor, besides several important monographs, a mountain of notes and documents, but not a line of the work to which he was supposedly devoting his best energy. We welcome Fr. Duhr's last volume. Along with the two volumes of Fr. Kröss on the society in Bohemia, it will form an indispensable source for the student of ecclesiastical affairs in the Hapsburg dominions. And it remains an inspiration to those who devote a life-time to the study and mastery of similar fields.

The period treated in the present volume is one of decline—the eve of the suppression of the society. This great catastrophe seems to cast its shadow forward through the whole century. We naturally expect to find it between the lines on almost every page. The author makes a sincere effort to be objective, to tell just what happened, *was eigentlich geschehen,* with very little in the way of comment or interpretation. Still, he is probably aware all the time that the reader will be asking: was there not after all some justification on the part

of the Jesuits for the severe measure adopted by Clement XIV when he suppressed them? The Bourbon courts had, of course, their motives. The society feels honored in its deadly enemies. After the triumph of its resurrection in 1814, it may feel grateful for the determined malice and cunning which forced it to retire from the wild arena of the revolutionary period. But here in the Hapsburg empire, under the most Christian of the later Hapsburg rulers, what sins of omission or commission were there to deserve or to occasion such a fate? Why did Maria Theresa do so little to save the order, whose work she fully appreciated? The real answer lies in the double difficulty in which she found herself. Pious and conscientious as she no doubt was, the great empress was the fond mother of a family whose future happiness seemed to depend on friendship with the "Catholic" kings of Latin Europe, and she was beseiged by philosopher-courtiers and ministers, who hated the Jesuits for their traditional opposition to "progress" and the *Aufklärung*.

Father Duhr endeavors to let the records speak. A life-time spent in many archives, where his proverbial German thoroughness penetrated all the darkest corners, failed to reveal anything which he must dress up or disguise in order not to bring discredit on the Company of Loyola. His own convictions are clear enough, but there is no suspicion of literary art employed to distract or mislead the reader. The book might be more entertaining if the author were a special pleader: but for the historian in search of facts, this mountain of details without too much dramatic finish is most satisfying.

The eighteenth was a sickly century. The Jesuits of the time no longer display the strength and vitality of youth. And yet they need fear comparison with no other similar institution of the period within the Catholic Church or outside of it. In such an atmosphere and in such surroundings, they were a remarkably healthy and sound body of men. But were they not an obstacle in the way of progress? Did they not cling to antiquated methods and matter, from which the enlightened educators of the time were trying to free the schools?

That they were not carried along by the current of rationalism which was sweeping Europe toward the fatal Revolution may be taken for granted. But the most that can be said against their conservatism is that they were not far enough ahead of the rest of the Church. Their priests, their preachers, and their college professors were not so advanced as a few of the free-lances, whose loyalty to the Church

was at least doubtful, but they were still well up in the vanguard of the Catholic intellectual world.

We may be permitted here to recall a few appreciations voiced on the appearance of Fr. Duhr's earlier volumes. The work is the first, and the best, complete history of Jesuit activities in Germany. It is a monumental contribution to the history of civilization. By his abundance of details, critical acumen, accurate portrayal of facts, loyalty to the historian's sacred dogma of objective truth, the author has set up a monument to himself and has glorified the order to which he belongs.

R. C.

The Capuchins. A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation. By FATHER CUTHBERT, O. S. F. C. Two volumes. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. 475. $6.00.)

The Capuchins are an autonomous branch of the Franciscans. Their history, in truth, presents all the qualities of a romance, at times coupled with dramatic incidents of thrilling interest. Two popes seriously determined to suppress them. Beside a score of legal enactments tending to hamper the peaceful course of the new reform, we come across drastic measures that jeopardized their very existence. Hardly had the young congregation enjoyed a brief respite, when it was overtaken by a storm that surpassed in intensity all previous tempests. For well-nigh forty years the popes alternately granted them favors only to cancel them again, partly owing to the pressure brought to bear upon them by the opposing party. The Roman cardinals were divided into two factions, friends and enemies of the Capuchins, and had many an altercation among themselves over the poor Capuchin friars. For some time animosities were so strong that passions would not be allayed even in papal consistories. Popes, as Paul III, grew heartily sick of this wrangling, yet they would not go the length of removing the cause by suppression of the order. What adds a new element to the romantic career of the Capuchins is the part played by pious women. The Capuchin Order was reared, maintained and saved from ruin through the influence exerted in its behalf by two of the most intellectual women of the age: the Duchess Caterina Cibo-Varani and the Princess Vittoria Colonna.

Internal troubles aggravated the difficulties of the friars immeasurably. Matthew of Bascio, the leader and first general, left the order and returned to the Observants. Louis of Fossombrone, the real founder and second general, was expelled on account of contumacy. Bernardine Ochino, the fourth general and a most popular preacher, apostatized from the order and the Church, turning Protestant and assailing the Catholic faith with a vehemence well-nigh unparalleled. Surely, there is no other order in the Church which was tested so severely in the crucible of affliction as the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin.

The dolorous beginnings of the order are graphically described by the facile pen of Father Cuthbert in the first part of his book (pp. 15-169). The period of suffering and insecurity came to an end in 1560, and three years later the Council of Trent placed the reform in the hands of the great orders of the Church. With this momentous act of recognition, Father Cuthbert closes this part of his work.

The romantic story of the Capuchin foundation, novel as it reads in its historic reality, was still further enhanced by the chroniclers by giving currency to a great number of legends. The great mine of legendary lore handed down by the old chroniclers was put to the best account by the historian of the order, Zachary Boverius, in his annals of the Capuchin Order, which in classical Latin diction tells such a marvelous story of the early beginnings as to rival any work of fiction. It was quite natural that the highly colored history of the Capuchins, as presented by Boverius, attracted the attention of the litterateurs. In 1740, a French writer translated the picturesque tale of the Annals of Boverius and published it under the title, *La guerre seraphique ou histoire des perils qu'a courus la barbe des Capucins par les violentes attaques des Cordeliers* (La Haye, 1740). Forty years later, the Protestant publisher Nicolai issued a German translation at Berlin under the title, *Wunderseltsame Geschichte der Baerte und spitzen Kapuzen der Ehrw. PP. Kapuziner.* Both the French original and the German translation were published with the sinister purpose of holding the orders of the Catholic Church up to ridicule.

For centuries Capuchin writers have spread the pious stories found in Boverius's Annals. Of late, however, they have subjected these stories to a critical study, and endeavored to sift truth from fiction. The yeoman's work in this line was done by the late Father

Edward of Alençon in his works: *De Primordiis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* (Romae, 1921), and *Tribulationes Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum* (Romae, 1914). Minor points have to be cleared up, Father Edward admits, but the essential features have been established with certainty. We need not invent miracles, Father Edward tersely remarks, "the very existence of the Capuchin Order must be pronounced a miracle."

Father Cuthbert presents the history of the beginning of the Capuchin Order, as it was critically reconstructed by Father Edward of Alençon. The admonition of Father Edward to the Capuchins to discard the old fables of Boverius was heeded by Father Cuthbert. Yet he still clings tenaciously to three of the legendary stories, trying to save them by rather flimsy reasons (pp. 44, 50, 83). On the other hand, Father Cuthbert himself invented a romantic story. He writes (pp. 49-50) that the Duchess of Camerino presented the petition of Lodovico da Fossombrone to her uncle, Pope Clement VII, and carried back to Camerino the charter of the Capuchin Order, the bull, *Religionis Zelus,* of July 3, 1528. According to Father Cuthbert, the Duchess did everything and, therefore, she must be regarded as the founder of the order of poor Capuchins. Happily for the memory of Pope Clement VII, the early Capuchins tell another story. Things were done strictly according to the rules of the Roman Curia: Friar Lodovico himself presented his petition and obtained through the influence of the Duchess the much coveted bull and carried it back to Camerino.

The second part of Father Cuthbert's work is headed: "The Capuchins Spread Abroad". This portion consists of nine chapters, ill arranged and loosely strung together. The first chapter of this section entitled, "Fra Felice" (pp. 173-195), still harks back to Italy. A mass of miscellaneous matter is crowded into it. On six pages the life story of Fra Felice, *i. e.,* St. Felix († 1587), is described, while the rest sketches the changes in the life of the friars, the spiritualistic tendencies, the constitutions, and the activities of three typical friars. The second chapter takes us across the Alps and describes the swift expansion in France, Savoy, Spain, Switzerland, and Belgium (pp. 196-218). "An Adventure into Politics" (pp. 219-243) tells the story of P. Angelus de Joyeuse who, with papal dispensation, doffed his habit and donned the military uniform, leading the reorganized Catholic army to victory against the Huguenots. Again putting on the Capuchin habit he led the poor life of a Capuchin until his

saintly death in 1608. During the turbulent years of the Huguenot king, Henry of Navarre, P. Angelus was a fearless champion of the Catholics, so much so that the government obtained his banishment to Italy. The papal nuncio in Paris intervened and his superiors allowed him to remain in France. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Paris, the nuncio wrote the Pope: "The Capuchins have been the mainstay of Catholicism in the French Kingdom; if they are expelled it will spell ruin to the Church."

The missionary labors of the Capuchins in France and Savoy are described in a separate chapter (pp. 253-283). The first aim was to revive the Faith amongst indifferent Catholic masses and to rescue the country from the grip of the Calvinistic heresy. They achieved that end to fullest satisfaction. In 1593, the Capuchins entered the German Empire and restored the Faith in large sections of that country (pp. 284-297). With the activity of Giacinto da Casale, a second and far-reaching adventure into European politics was begun by the Capuchins. In the imperial camps we find Giacinto da Casale, by right of birth Count of Natta, Valeriano Magno, and Alessandro d'Ales; in the Spanish camp, Diego de Quiroga; in the French camp was active Père Joseph Le Clerc du Tremblay, one of the shrewdest diplomats of all times. The Capuchin diplomats were shifted from one court to another. We find them at Vienna, Cracow, Munich, Prague, Neuburg, Ratisbon, Brussels, Paris, London, and the Hague; and in their service we find a host of other Capuchins who acted as agents at other European courts, as *e. g.*, Father Zigler in Mayence, Zachary of Bolzano in Munich, Salvator in Vienna. Indeed, the Capuchins did make European history. Père Joseph almost won the imperial crown for his master, the French king. Father Cuthbert describes the diplomatic services of these friars with picturesque vividness (pp. 297-320), but is surely not just in his estimate of his French confrere, Père Joseph Le Clerc of Paris. Besides, the account of Father Cuthbert is too brief and inadequate; the diplomatic services of his confrere Alessandro d'Ales at the courts of England and Holland are mentioned only incidentally, while the services of the Spanish diplomat, Diego de Quiroga, are barely touched upon. As a sequel to the diplomatic services, Father Cuthbert devotes a page and a half (pp. 320-321) to the account of the heroism displayed by the French and German friars during the wars. This section is so meager that it seems altogether superfluous. The martyrdom of St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen is dismissed in ten lines.

The next chapter headed, "More Missionary Provinces" (pp. 322-347), relates the life story of two Scotch brothers, William and John Forbes, sons of the eighth Lord Forbes and Lady Margaret Gordon, and of the Irish friar, Francis Nugent, son of Sir Thomas Nugent of Moyrath Castle. There follows the description of the beginnings of the Capuchin provinces in Lower Germany and Ireland, the romantic story of the Scotch friars, Archangel Leslie and Epiphanius Lindsay, the beginning of the English mission and the formation of the Capuchin settlements on the banks of the Rhine, the life story of Father Charles of Brussels, a scion of the noble house of the Princes d'Aremberg, and finally the establishment of the mission in Holland. Worthy of special mention is the Confraternity of the Passion, established by the Capuchins at Cologne in 1612, which was in reality a converts' aid society. Popes, emperors, and kings deemed it a distinction to be admitted as honorary members. The registers of the confraternity show that from 1641 to 1745 no less than 11,705 converts had been provided for (pp. 341-343). A similar institution for the aid of converts was the *Sainte-Maison* established at Thonon in Savoy, in 1599, by the Capuchin Cherubim of Maurienne (pp. 278-279).

Father Cuthbert takes us back to Italy in the chapter headed, "Fra Cristoforo and Others" (pp. 348-369). Whilst the events described in the five preceding chapters were taking place beyond the Alps, the Capuchins had arrived at the heyday of their influence as preachers and social workers in Italy. They had a cure for every social ill. The enthusiasm aroused by their preaching seems almost incredible. Their heroism was displayed time and again during the periodic epidemics, when hundreds of friars died in the service of the plague-stricken people. Cloaked in the Capuchin habit, one might find sons of the most illustrious houses of the nobility. Even the reigning Duke Alphonse III of Modena abdicated the throne in 1629, to don the Capuchin habit. It was men such as these that made the Capuchins loved in Italy.

The chapter headed, "The Foreign Missions" (pp. 370-396), touches but lightly upon the story of the early Capuchin missions, giving a mere indication of what was accomplished in foreign fields (p. 396). By the middle of the seventeenth century the Capuchin missionaries were scattered far and wide, from Constantinople to India, from Egypt to Morocco, from Guinea to the Congo, from East-

ern Canada to the wilds of Southern Brazil. It is worth noticing that Father Cuthbert in his survey has passed over the oldest Capuchin mission of Candia, where the friars have kept the torch of faith burning under Catholic, Moslem, and schismatic rules during 363 years, from 1566 to the present time.

The concluding chapter sketches the literary activity of the Capuchins (pp. 397-428). The first works published were mystical tracts and, as Father Cuthbert aptly remarks (p. 427), "the temperament of the Capuchin writer was the mystical temperament." It was this mental bent which led back the Capuchins to the teaching of St. Bonaventure, when a regular theological school was organized. The best exponents of Bonaventurian theology are Capuchins. In 1758 a decree of Benedict XIV made the teaching of St. Bonaventure the official doctrine of the Capuchin Order, and it has remained such to this day. Scotism was always accorded a second place and was totally eliminated in the late constitutions. Accordingly, we find besides the Bonaventurian theologians a number of Scotists and but few Thomists.

Father Cuthbert rapidly sketches what might be called the normal Capuchin literature. The workers in the mission field and in the slums of the cities were often forced to sacrifice their taste for intellectual pursuits to the pressing needs of the apostolate. Their literary productions—notable contributions to science, ethnology, philology, and even medicine—are completely overlooked by Father Cuthbert.

The sources of early Capuchin history are admirably sketched by the author in the appendix (pp. 431-441). The defense of the Capuchins by Vittoria Colonna, in a letter to Paul III, is reprinted in the Italian original (pp. 441-447). The next paragraph entitled, "The Capuchins and the Spiritualist Tradition" (pp. 447-543), contains much to which exception might be taken. Father Cuthbert believes that at its inception the Capuchin Order was so full of spiritualistic ideas as the English of Anglo-Saxonism. This erroneous opinion may be consistently traced through all the pages of his work. His learned confrere, Fredegand Callaey, did not choose a misleading title, as Father Cuthbert believes, when he termed his study an "infiltration of Spiritualist tendencies," as a foreign importation which wrought havoc in the Franciscan Order since the days of St. Bonaventure. And the spiritualistic ideas so greatly extolled by Father Cuthbert have brought the greatest calamity upon the Capuchin Order.

Father Cuthbert fails to discern that spiritualistic ideas ruined Bernardine Ochino and his followers. And such thoroughly Catholic souls as Ochino's friends, Vittoria Colonna and Cardinal Contarini, for a time lay under the suspicion of the Holy Inquisition.

In illustration of the mystical temperament of the Capuchin writers, Father Cuthbert concludes his work with extracts from the sermons of Girolamo da Narni and Mattia da Salò, and the *Theologie Naturelle* of Yves de Paris (pp. 454-470).

This cursory review will bring to our minds the wealth of information embodied in these two volumes. In the preface Father Cuthbert calls his book "a first introduction to a neglected chapter in the history of the Catholic Reformation, commonly misnamed the Counter-Reformation". He complains that "modern historians have not studied the powerful influence of the Capuchins in shaping the course of the Catholic Reformation" or better, restoration (pp. 9-10). This sweeping statement is not true to facts. British historians may have ignored the Capuchins, but continental scholars, both Catholic and Protestant, have never failed to recognize the influence of the poor friars for the last two hundred years. Too many documents are yet hidden away in the archives, so that an adequate history of their activity cannot be written at present. So much, however, has been made known, especially of late, that we are constrained to assign to the Capuchins the first rank in the battle of retrieving the losses of the Protestant revolt. Father Cuthbert (p. 9) states correctly that the Capuchins were not founded for the defense of the Catholic Faith against heresy. This is the more true, since the Capuchins never volunteered to enter the lists against heretics outside of Italy; in each case they yielded reluctantly to the command of obedience. In Italy they combated the heretics from the very first days of their existence and definitely purged whole provinces in the north of all vestiges of heresy. The conversions they made among the Waldenses were so numerous that this sect could hold its own only in the inaccessible fastnesses of the Alps. This glorious page of Capuchin missionary activity is completely passed over by Father Cuthbert.

Despite all, Father Cuthbert has greatly overrated the place of the Capuchins in history. "The early history of the Capuchins", he writes in the preface (p. 9), "is a microcosm of the world-conflict within the Catholic Church in the first half of the sixteenth century, when the spiritual element was in revolt against the secularist ele-

ment." At the beginning, the Capuchin reform was nothing more than a reform within the Franciscan Order. "The world-conflict within the Catholic Church" or "the revolt against secularism and conventionalism which overwhelmed the declining medieval system", as Father Cuthbert terms it, must be relegated into the realm of Protestant fiction by the sober historian. The Protestant revolt was not the effect of a secularizing tendency within the Church; it was the effect of the greed of the temporal rulers without the Church. Father Cuthbert's tirades against the secularist spirit are faithful re-echoes of Protestant historical romancers.

Despite the few blemishes we have pointed out, we consider Father Cuthbert's work the best book on the Capuchins. Father Cuthbert states in the preface that he does not wish his work to be regarded as a history. It is a series of historical studies on outstanding points of the Capuchins from the year 1525 to 1669. The whole is based on an extensive literature. Not a single book bearing on the subject has he omitted to consult. There are no gaps in the bibliography. The Capuchin Order may be proud to have found in Father Cuthbert a writer who succeeded in resurrecting its glorious history, which is the romantic story of a band of sons of St. Francis.

JOHN M. LENHART, O. M. Cap.

Ecclesia: Encyclopédie populaire des Connaissances religieuses. (Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay. 1927. Pp. viii, 1105.)

This work, published under the direction of Abbé R. Aigrain, with a preface by Monsignor Courcoux, Bishop of Orleans, is a handbook of knowledge on the Catholic Church from the pens of more than thirty renowned French writers. Written in a scholarly yet popular manner, it contains information on Church history, apologetics, theology, philosophy, chronology, liturgy and almost every other branch of Church knowledge, condensed into an attractive octavo volume of some 1100 pages. Nothing so complete and learned has yet appeared in English.

The present notice is concerned chiefly with the treatment afforded to Church History. In it we find a general section on "The History of the Church", to which is added a supplementary section on "The Geography of the Catholic Church", and one on "The Separated Churches". The general history begins with the foundation of the

Church and goes down to the reign of the present pontiff, Pius XI. It falls into five main divisions: the Apostolic Age, the Period from the End of the Apostolic Age to the Carlovingian Empire, the Middle Ages, the Modern Period and finally the Contemporary Period. The principal events of these periods are presented briefly and eruditely, in language at once clear and easy to follow. A splendid bibliography is to be found at the end of the section.

The ecclesiastical geography of the different nations of the world during the various periods of Church history forms the subject of the second section. It contains a treatise of some size on Catholic France, with other treatises on the Church in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Oceanica, and lastly one on the Catholic Missions throughout the world. Each treatise is illustrated by numerous maps and charts. The third section on the separated Churches gives a résumé of the different Oriental Churches which broke away from the Church of Rome, and a history of the Protestant Churches in Germany, France, and England.

Both the student of history and the general reader will find in the 140 pages devoted to Church history useful and ready material on every important subject. They may be sure, too, of the superior scholarship of this material when they know that it has come from such eminent writers and scholars as Argrain, Brou, Vacandard, Carreyre, and Mourret. If only for the part devoted to Church history, *Ecclesia* should prove a valuable addition to any library.

W. D. M.

The Crusades and Other Historical Essays. Edited by Louis J. Paetow. (New York: F. S. Crofts. 1928. Pp. x, 419. $5.)

Here we have a volume of twelve authoritative and scholarly essays written by the former students of a great teacher of history, Professor Dana C. Munro of Princeton University, and presented to him on the occasion of his presidency of the American Historical Association. There is something intrinsically stirring in a volume of this sort. It must be a source of immense gratification to a teacher to realize that he has inspired his students to want to prepare such a book. And such gratification is increased when the quality of their work is of the kind that is found in this volume.

The late Professor Louis J. Paetow was the editor of the present

volume and one of the essays is from his pen, "The Crusading Ardor of John of Garland". This essay is a study primarily of John of Garland's poem, *De triumphis ecclesiae,* a work which offers "valuable sidelights on important events in history, such as the Third Crusade, the Albigensian wars, the founding of the University of Toulouse, the wars between Louis IX and Henry III over Poitou, the coming of the Tartars into Europe, the strife between popes and Hohenstaufen emperors and the first crusade of King Louis IX". He presents the work of this medieval professor at Paris as most significant in any attempt to arrive at the history of thought, as well as modifying certain current notions about the supposed "golden age" of St. Louis.

The first essay is by Professor Einar Joranson. It deals with an event of great importance that preceded the crusading epoch, "The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065." We are indebted to Professor Joranson for showing us the difficulty experienced by the Fatimite Caliphate in maintaining order in Palestine and in protecting Christian pilgrims, even though a genuine desire to do so was present. He causes us to revise the long accepted opinion that it was the coming of the Seljuk Turks which made the crusades necessary, and suggests that Western Europe would probably have had to use military force in any event if pilgrimages were to be rendered safe.

Professor Frederic Duncalf in his essay, "The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade", develops the interesting theory that Urban II did more than set the crusade afoot and announce its primary objectives. According to this scholar the Roman pontiff had a definite plan of action that was to be followed each step along the way and as occasions and crises presented themselves. Professor Duncalf appears to believe that this plan included the establishment of permanent Latin states in the East. He further indicates that it was Raymond of Toulouse who, of all leaders of this crusade, tried most earnestly to follow the papal plan, and by his frequent obstinancy in council induced the others to do so, often against their will. While this essay is the shortest in the collection, it produces one of the most novel viewpoints and supports it with considerable evidence.

Space will not permit an adequate summary of all the essays included within this volume. There are some of such timely interests, however, that they cannot be passed over too lightly. One such is Professor M. M. Knappen's "Robert II of Flanders in the First Crusade". This is a contribution of importance in that it presents

this prince as occupying a more important place than is usually accorded him. Professor Knappen gives abundant evidence to show that Count Robert was one of the genuine idealists of the whole movement, a conciliating spirit and mediator in the midst of the violent quarrels which frequently agitated the other leaders and threatened the enterprise with ruin. Of equal importance is the essay of Professor A. A. Beaumont, Jr., "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa", which is the most recent vindication of that writer in the long controversy anent his authenticity. Professor Eugene H. Byrne's "The Genoese Colonies in Syria" is of great interest for its study of this pioneer enterprise in the great movement of European expansion and commercial imperialism which has for centuries been the most significant fact in political history. Other essays having to do with crusades are Professor August C. Krey's "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta and its Bearings on the Literature of the First Crusade", and Professor Milton R. Gutsch's "A Twelfth Century Preacher—Fulk of Neuilly".

The *Other Historical Essays* are four in number: Professor James F. Willard's "An Exchequer Reform under Edward I"; Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt's "Lord Haldane's Mission to Berlin in 1912"; Professor William E. Lingelbach's "Sources of Diplomatic History and the Control of Affairs"; and Mr. Herbert A. Kellar's "Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1835: A Study of Ante-Bellum Society". Professor Schmitt shows an exhaustive knowledge of all the available sources and personal versions of that attempted rapprochement which ended disastrously because, in the words of Bethmann-Hollweg with which he appropriately closes his essay, "The problem before us suffers from the defect that because of its inherent difficulties, it admits of no solution." Professor Lingelbach gives a wealth of valuable advice to the student (particularly the young student) of international relations in modern history with his catalogue of the sources and a guide to their use. In some respects Mr. Kellar's essay is the most fruitful of this section of the volume. It is a genuine contribution to the *Kulturgeschichte* of America. After a brief geographical introduction he gives us an admirable cross section of the district he is studying at a given period: its religious and educational life, its law and jurisprudence, its political and military aspects, its social, intellectual, and economic activities.

Following the essays there is an imposing list of the publications

of Professor Munro, compiled and arranged chronologically by Marion Peabody West. There is also appended a list of the patrons of the enterprise, which included the names of many prominent American historians.

HEWITT B. VINNEDGE.

Thomas Aquinas, His Personality and Thought. By DR. MARTIN GRABMANN, University of Munich; translation by VIRGIL MICHEL, O. S. B., Ph. D. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1928. Pp. ix, 191.)

This is an authorized translation of the work of the eminent German Thomistic scholar, now in its fifth edition.

Modern non-Thomists know less of Thomism than we who are surrounded by it are likely to admit. How much space is given to it in histories of philosophy? And how favorable is the attitude toward this system which has withstood the hammering attacks of centuries? To the non-Scholastic, Scholastic doctrine is a weird, esoteric system wrapped in confusing verbiage and complicated beyond extrication. Now we see it stepping out from under the bushel to be a light to those who collect, each for himself, a private and passing system from the fragments of many transient theories, as though truth were not one and objective.

With this in mind the translation of Dr. Grabmann's work into English is a delight to the heart of a Thomist. It will introduce Thomism clearly, briefly, sympathetically, to those unacquainted with it. For the Thomists the work is a fresh meeting, an impetus to study, a prod to gratitude for the saint, the Angelic Doctor, their leader, Thomas Aquinas.

The book is divided into two parts: the Personality of St. Thomas, and the Thomistic Synthesis. The first part gives a simply written and satisfactorily complete life of the Angelic Doctor and an account of his literary labors, of St. Thomas as scholar, teacher, and writer, of the sources of Thomistic thought, and of the vicissitudes of his teachings until the general recognition of their superiority. The second part is a clear account of his principal and fundamental teachings, with special emphasis placed upon his doctrines concerning being, the existence and essence of God, God and His relation to the world, the theory of knowledge, the human soul, ethics, political

and social philosophy, and a conclusion treating of the method of acquiring a scientific understanding of St. Thomas.

The work does not claim to be more than an introduction to St. Thomas and his doctrine. It does touch the fundamental points, points of intellectually thrilling interest to real philosophers. He treats, for instance, the question of Thomism being constructed artificially merely to defend the Catholic faith; and he answers the objection to Thomists as "armchair philosophers". "The work of Thomas shows unmistakable signs of a positivistic-historical mind. He is far removed from an apriorism that disregards all previously attained results, and spins a web of theories out of its own inner self (p. 40)."

Of course, Scholastic terminology will always seem formidable to those who have not studied it, but the translation by Virgil Michel will do much to help strangers break through that shallow crust of difficulty to discover the most common-sense and logical philosophic systems.

D. M. v. R.

A History of Christian Missions in China. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 930. $5.00.)

To meet the growing interest in the foreign missions awakened in America during the past decade and quickened by the deaths of the first American Catholic priests recently killed in China, a very timely work has appeared in Professor Latourette's study. It is outstanding for scholarship, sympathetic statement and completeness. Its chapters on Catholic missions are the most fair and thorough that have appeared in English from a non-Catholic missionary; its erudition will go far to offset the justified complaint that mission treatises as a rule are shallow and emotional. When a course in missions takes its place in the curriculum of our colleges, this work will make a satisfactory textbook, yet its attractive style warrants it a welcome on the bookshelf of others than students.

As a scientific work it is marked for its conservative conclusions, very thoroughly backed by references to over a thousand authors on China; and more important still, these citations are gauged by the

author's own mission experience which often rightly discounts partiality. That this is a most important point, the author in his preface confesses:

> It is impossible for any writer of history entirely to free his account from the influence of his own interests and convictions. In the following pages the effort has been made to view things objectively—to recount them as they actually occurred (if that can ever be done). It may seem, indeed, to some who have given their lives to carrying the Christian Gospel to China, that the author has at times forgotten that he himself has been a missionary. The author wishes to state frankly at the very outset, however, that he is thoroughly committed to the enterprise of Christian missions, and that his bias, therefore, is to interpret missionary activities in China more favorably than some who are not so committed believe that the facts warrant. He is, moreover, a Protestant, and while he has striven to narrate fairly the story of the efforts of Nestorian, Russian Orthodox, and Roman Catholic Christians, he has not been able to escape the uneasy feeling that he has not understood fully the convictions, the hopes, and the desires of the representatives of these communions. At times, on the other hand, the author has wondered whether the consciousness of his bias and the desire not to be influenced by it has not led him to be more restrained in his favorable estimate and more pronounced in his criticism of missions, and especially of Protestant missions, than accuracy warrants.

The book will inevitably be the standard reference work on the subject both here and in China for many years to come. It is a pity therefore that in his effort to be complete the author has included a chapter on the outstanding characteristics of Christianity which from a Catholic viewpoint misses the essential note—the divinity of its Founder, and stresses the dogmas of liberal modernism. This attitude, which tinges the conclusions throughout the book, would be a serious objection were it not that in evaluating Catholic missions the author is happy in his choice of Catholic authorities, and rests his conclusions mainly on this objective evidence. He exhibits, however, lack of sympathy with supernatural manifestations and misinterprets in several instances the pious phrases commonly used by Catholic writers. His aim is evidently sincere and his justice to Catholic endeavor far outweighs misunderstandings.

His treatment of Protestant missions is hampered by the need of detailed and isolated instances to include all the scores of religious bodies, and the result is an array of names and dates that tend to distract from the unity of the efforts made.

The biographical sketches that are incidents in the history are clearly delineated in rapid touches with unusual sympathy. Especially

well done, both in accuracy and enthusiasm, are the generous pages devoted to Xavier, Ricci, and Montecorvino. The attitude of the various mission boards regarding extraterritoriality, native clergy, education, and expenses is well brought out wherever they affect the progress of the Gospel. Statistics are handled cautiously, and claims based on them are analyzed.

Chinese history runs through the theme as a fundamental tone, enough to give an intelligent background even for one not versed in oriental facts. The Tai-ping and Boxer disorders and the numerous persecutions of an earlier date are soberly noted without distorting the stable characteristics of the Chinese. Especially pertinent is the account of the foreign political agressions and occupation of China, which is recorded without passion or bias. A knowledge of the facts treated in the last four hundred pages will clarify much of the confusion of journalistic accounts of modern China's reorganization. Catholic America's share in mission work is adequately summed up, and the history ends with the present civil war and its consequences on mission activities. Twenty pages of balanced conclusions, fifty pages of bibliography, a careful index, and a single map of China complete the volume.

Even a superficial reading of the book will attest the justification of mission enterprises, the high ideals of missionaries, and the beneficial results attained. Whether purposely or not, Professor Latourette seems to prove that the Catholic missionary ideal is the salvation of souls and the worth of the individual, while Protestant effort aims principally at the social amelioration of the Chinese as a people based on occidental life as a standard. Though sympathetically and optimistic, he does not hesitate to point out failings on both sides.

Professor Latourette has succeeded in giving us the most authoritative, calm, and complete record in Christian missions in China that has ever appeared in English. His objective point of view and interesting style have raised the study of missions to the level of true scholarship worthy of our universities and colleges.

FRANCIS X. FORD.

The Life and Letters of Walter Drum, S. J. By JOSEPH GORAYEB, S. J. Preface by Francis P. Lebuffe, S. J. (New York: America Press. 1928. Pp. vi, 313.)

"A soldier's son, a soldier's brother, himself a soldier in a yet

higher service" (Introduction). If the great dead "speak to us from their urns", much more truly do the learned and holy men of the past commune with us, as we read in their lives what they said and did. In a pyramid a man lies buried, enshrined in a book he exerts a powerful influence for good or bad, as he did in the flesh.

The Life and Letters of Walter Drum, S. J., lately from the press, will be read with interest by all that knew and admired him. The work was written by Father Gorayeb, S. J., as a tribute to the memory of his professor at Woodstock. It contains somewhat more than three hundred pages and gives us a fine story of the character, activities, learning, zeal and sanctity of this extraordinary man, distinguished, even among the distinguished members of the Society of Jesus, for his defense of Christian truth. The author had joined his professor in eternity when the book saw the light, so that the final touches before publication were put upon it by Father LeBuffe, S. J., who wrote a fitting preface, fine and finished as a cameo.

The matter is well arranged, so that we can follow the subject from boyhood days through youth and early manhood, when, like his soldier father, he might have given himself to his country's service; but he followed the standard of his divine Master and, with the chivalry of Sir Galahad, went on even a holier quest.

He was a "man of metal" and God uses such, as he did Saul of Tarsus, for great achievements. The A. M. D. G. was not for him a mere motto, a mural decoration in letters of gold; it was the mainspring of all his activities, the guiding principle of his life. If he devoted himself to literature and to the study of eloquence, if he travelled in far-away lands, secular and sacred, if he mastered the complicated syllabaries of Mesopotamia, or the inspired tongues of the Bible, he did it all for the honor and glory of God.

He worked in season and out of season, and his written life shows the wide range of his labors—retreats, lectures, articles in periodicals, class duties as professor, correspondence, so that it seems incredible that one man could do so much. Even in failing health he tried to continue as long as possible what he had on hand, but the collapse came and it was too late to seek medical aid. At the age of fifty-one years he passed away, a martyr to duty, regretted by all that knew him. To these few glimpses of his life may be added as a conclusion: *Tolle, lege, et tu fac similiter*—take up, read, imitate.

JOHN J. TIERNEY.

The "Doctrina Breve" in Facsimile, published in the City of Tenochtitlan, Mexico, June 1554, by Rt. Rev. Juan Zumárraga, First Bishop of Mexico, to which are added *The Earliest Books in the New World,* by Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O. F. M., and *A Technical Appreciation of the First American Printers,* by Stephen H. Morgan. Edited by THOMAS F. MEEHAN. [United States Historical Society Monograph Series X.] (New York: U. S. Catholic Historical Society. 1928. Pp. 27, and unnumbered pages of the facsimile.)

The *Doctrina Breve* "is a brief and very valuable compendium of the facts that pertain to the Catholic faith and our Christianity, in simple style, for the average intelligence." It is a catechism of Christian doctrine. It is not, however, because of its subject matter but rather, on account of its antiquity (since it is a facsimile of the first complete book printed in America), that it is of interest to historians. The title page bears the date 1543, in which it was expected the work would be finished. But the colophon states, "the printing was finished on the fourteenth day of the month of June of the year M. D. forty and four years," just fifty-two years after Columbus set foot in the West Indies, and almost a hundred years before the first edition of the celebrated *Bay State Psalm Book* (Cambridge, Mass.), which according to Isaiah Thomas, was the first book printed in North America. The *Doctrina Breve* was published in Spanish and in Indian. A copy of the former edition, as is evident from the bookplates of the present volume, became the property of Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo (1828-1907), several times premier of Spain, who gave it to the ill-fated Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, who was shot June 19, 1867. After that, it was taken to Europe and sold at a Leipsic book auction, where a New York dealer purchased it and brought it to this country. He sold it to Archer M. Huntington, who, in 1907, added it to the many attractions of the Hispanic Society of America. At Mr. Huntington's instance, photographic prints of each page of this unique book were made and presented to the United States Catholic Historical Society. The prints have been photoengraved by Mr. Stephen H. Morgan, and thus we have a facsimile copy, two removed from the originals, of the pages of the first book printed in the New World.

The reproduction is, on the whole, clear and the style of the Spanish

composition makes it comparatively easy to read and translate. The publication of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains, in addition, an article by Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O. F. M., treating of the earliest books in the New World; and one by Mr. Stephen Henry Morgan, who supervised the photo-engraving, dealing chiefly with the printing of the original. These explain the nature and value of the *Doctrina Breve*, and thus the attractive volume of the historical society will be received as a treasure, not only by those desirous of completing their historical libraries, but also, by those who are anxious to possess a copy of the first book printed in the New World.

L. E. N.

The Pope and Italy. By WILFRID PARSONS, S. J., Editor of *America*. (America Press. 1929. Pp. 134.)

This slender volume contains little that has not been told and retold during the past months in daily newspaper, weekly periodical, and the more formal monthly magazine. But it will be convenient to have in this more permanent form the story of this long-standing question and its settlement. Eighty pages are devoted to this treatment. In the appendix are printed texts of the treaty, concordat, and financial convention; and an account of the controversy and negotiations of settlement, translated from the *Osservatore Romano*, February 12-13, 1929. A better reference to United States representation at the papal court (p. 36), would have been to the account which appeared in this *Review* (n. s., III, pp. 103-122), not only because it is a fuller treatment of the subject, but also because it is the only account based upon an examination of the diplomatic archives of the Department of State.

Religion Without God. By REV. FULTON J. SHEEN. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1928. Pp. xiv, 368.)

Apart from the value of Dr. Sheen's *Religion Without God* as a contribution to the literature of Catholic philosophy in America; apart, too, from its outstanding merit in the field of apologetics (in which Dr. Sheen can almost be said to blaze a fresh trail by his consistent and thoroughgoing application of the methods of neo-scholasticism to the religious problem of the day), this book fur-

nishes the historian, especially the historian of religious thought since the sixteenth-century debacle, with a number of problems of first-rate interest, and it suggests with enlightened judgment the direction in which their solutions are most likely to be found.

The second part of Dr. Sheen's work (chapters III, IV, V, and VI), is devoted to a study of the historical origins of the contemporary idea of religion.

The destructive influence of Lutheran theology upon the minds of his followers resulted in a complete falsification of their concept of grace, and the substitution of a selfish individualism of thought and practice for the " charity which unites " and makes each Christian soul responsible in a measure for the salvation of his fellows.

The inversion of the order of thought which the scholastics held was effected by Descartes to such an extent that fact and value, knowledge and sensation, reason and faith were isolated from each other, and rationalism reigned where reasonable faith alone had the right to rule.

With Immanuel Kant came the appeal to feeling, sentiment. The worth of intelligence was scouted; the supremacy of will—subjective impulse—maintained. Truth could not be known, it must be felt. Value is pragmatic. What serves man is best and truest. This was the third stage of the development of modern theories that gave rise to the contemporary idea of religion.

Here are a few of the problems in the history of modern thought that Dr. Sheen discusses with no mean skill. The historian of Catholic thought cannot but feel that he has matter here for much further study. And, if he reads Dr. Sheen's book with care he will surely find some valuable leads in following out his problems to their solution.

GERALD B. PHELAN.

The Confusion of Tongues: A Review of Modern Isms. By CHARLES W. FERGUSON. (Garden City, N. Y. 1928. Pp. vii, 461.)

This study is a brief yet comprehensive exposition of the cults which have proved more or less popular in our country. The author attempts to prove that we are, as a people, deeply imbued with a sense of the sacred. At times our penchant for religion takes curious and peculiar turns, but whatever the external activities may be they are rooted in religious motives and religious zeal. The opening pages of the book

are devoted to general comments on the many and varied beliefs adopted by Americans, a review of their histories, and the reasons for their success. America, he says, is the sanctuary of amazing cults. Its earliest settlers were people outlawed because of their religion, and from 1653 (when the Mennonites settled at Gravesend Bay) the procession of religious enthusiasts who regarded America as the Promised Land has continued without interruption. Once implanted, every sect has grown and prospered. The amazing variety and success of the cults is accounted for, the author believes, first of all in our credulity, our willingness to believe anything provided only "that it be stated gravely enough"; secondly, because these cults promise, even guarantee, not only a happy life after death but even the realization of all manner of temporal desires—business success, social position, charming personality, immunity from sickness, etc. Coupled with the longing for felicity in the next life, deeply rooted in every human heart is the yearning for success in this world. The popularity of a religion which guarantees the fulfillment of this two-fold desire is assured. For some of the cults there is an additional reason of success in their professed alliance with science. Many are persuaded that there can be no reconciliation between orthodox religious belief and scientific knowledge and, enchanted by the discoveries of present-day science, readily welcome the sects which, although perhaps they temporize by qualifying science, emphatically claim fellowship with it. The book offers a complete survey of the doctrines, practices, and histories of nineteen cults, together with biographical sketches of their founders or principal propagators. Appended is essential information of about fifty-seven more. The story of the cults and their founders is briskly and interestingly told; the exposition of their tenets is brief, complete, and lucid, noteworthy when we remember that frequently these doctrines are natively very vague and obscure. Throughout, the book is humorous but never derisive. Rather, the author defends all the cults, inasmuch as their activity and their zeal are religious, though perhaps misdirected. The reader will meet here and there the personal comments and observations of the author. Whether or not these will accord with his own opinions is a question; but they do not militate against the general worth of the book. Works devoted to an intelligible exposition of the complex religions of the present day are very few. Mr. Ferguson's book, since it is just such an exposition, rightly merits the consideration of students of religion.

P. H.

The Church and War. By FRANZISKUS STRATMANN, O. P. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1928. Pp. xiii, 219.)

Free will, innate ambition to accomplish things, and the element of competition which plays a part in our complicated existence, all prove that struggle is natural to man. But, struggle is not war, and this is the keynote of this volume. Unlike most of the modern literature on war ethics, most of which has cropped out of peace treaty discussions, this book lays a definite foundation, and reaches its conclusions with unfaltering logic. War brings unspeakable evils in its wake, but is war in itself an evil? Can it ever be justified? His answer, after St. Augustine and St. Thomas, is that war can be waged only in the name of justice and that this justice must be more than a vague patriotism. In the light of the four great principles which determine the justice of a war, hardly any combatant of modern times is without fault. The author even hesitates to justify the crusades. Underlying the book is the paradox of members of a single body—the Mystical Body of Christ—working one against the other. Pacifism and patriotism are treated at length and the true in each case is separated from the false. It is a complete study, although somewhat compressed, and a solid contribution to a misunderstood department of ethics.

U. N.

The Sumerians. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1928, pp. xii, 199, $2.50.) Hardly any one would have been better qualified to write on the Sumerians than Dr. Woolley, who for many years has lived in their company through his excavations in Mesopotamia and especially at Ur. In the present volume he has condensed all that is known about them. The first chapter deals with the beginnings of the land of Sumer and Akkad, a period which is necessarily obscure. As far as we know, the Sumerians were preceded in Lower Mesopotamia by two different races: one non-Semitic, which has left samples of its pottery in the lowest strata of al-Ubaid near Ur. This same pottery is found at Susa, and Dr. Speiser has verified its presence in the North at Tell Arrafat near Kirkuk and at Teppe Gaura (*Bulletin* of the Amer. Schools of Oriental Research, Nos. 28 and 29). The same pottery is also found further north in places where the Semites never went. In Lower Mesopotamia, this non-

Semitic race was superseded by Semites during the fourth millennium B. C. The Sumerians drove a wedge between those two and occupied the country without however driving away the Semitic race which occupied the land at their arrival. Thus it happened that the two races lived side by side, the Semites being the preponderant element in the northern part of the territory and the Sumerians in the South. The Sumerian kings took the title of "King of Sumer and Akkad." Dr. Woolley then traces the history of the Sumerians as inferred from records written by Sumerian scribes after the political downfall of that nation, around 2000 B. C. The characteristic of the Sumerian commonwealth was its organization into city-states; the supremacy passing from one to the other, and gradually breaking down the nation until internal strife made it possible for the western Semites to conquer the land and establish themselves there. Kish, Erech, Ur, Gutium, Lagash, Laisa, Isin, etc., were some of these city-states that held supremacy for a while until wrested by another.

In a special chapter (IV), Dr. Woolley analyses the Sumerian society and gives special attention in a subsequent chapter to the third dynasty of Ur, and to the dynasties of Isin and Laisa.

The sympathy of the author for the Sumerians is manifested in the last chapter, in which he discusses the claims of Sumer. Most of our civilization is traceable to the Sumerians. He is led into a comparison between Sumer and Egypt, and he is very much in favor of Sumer. There are numerous points of contact between the two civilizations, all admit; and Dr. Woolley is of opinion that the Sumerian is older than the Egyptian. It will be interesting to watch what the friends of Egypt will have to say. The dates assigned by Woolley are already being questioned; Dr. Weidner (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, IV) claims that they are too high by perhaps 700 years, which, if true, would allow a safe margin for the precedence of Egypt.

Dr. Woolley has written a very instructive and interesting little volume. It is intended primarily for the non-specialist reader and for that reason, all notes and references of a technical nature have been omitted. No selected bibliography has been given, contrary to what Breasted and Goodspeed have done for the Egyptians and Assyrians and Babylonians. We think that this is a lacuna; no doubt many of the readers would like to study more in details the sources out of which the present history has been drawn. However, the author has done well what he wanted to do and for this much we ought to be

thankful. We recommend this volume to all those who are interested in the historical vicissitudes of the Near East.

R. BUTIN, S. M.

A Short History of Europe, 1500-1815. By ALBERT HYMA. (New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1928, pp. xii, 496, $3.50.) Dr. Hyma begins his preface with a statement of the characteristics which a good collegiate textbook for a survey course in history should possess. His book possesses these characteristics. There is an introduction which ushers one out of the Middle Ages into the early modern era. Each chapter is prefaced by an introduction suggestive to the alert student of the importance of what follows. The chapters are conveniently divided into topical sections, and carefully compiled booklists are appended to them. The emphasis of the book, too, is new. Naturally the author's personal interests appear; hence, the rôle of the Dutch in the period is made to stand out more distinctly than it is in other manuals. The economic emphasis is strong and contributes to the enhancement of the importance of the Dutch element. Otherwise the chapters follow the long accepted chronological order of the development of this age in history.

One may easily find fault with statements appearing in a book of this kind. Textbook statements necessarily must be more or less general, cannot be too carefully modified and hedged about. If they were so put forth one would impatiently throw the book aside, dismiss it summarily from consideration as being highly unteachable. Some points of Dr. Hyma's book, however, are open to question. Is one to conclude that Charlemagne was a Frenchman because he was born in what is now Belgium? Is not the fact that he and his Carolingian forbears were Austrasians, Germans, of decisive importance in fixing his race historically (p. 6)? Religious considerations may account for the author's speaking of the "Christian Church" on page 7 and about the same church as "the Roman Catholic Church" on page 49. Should the emotions of people in receiving communion be called "strange" (p. 54)? Among omissions may be noted: emphasizing the importance of the Black Death as a cause of corruption in the Church which in turn was one of the causes of the Reformation; the Jesuits were primarily a Levantine and foreign missionary society; the Reformation at first increased intolerance; the Moors were in reality a foreign menace within the kingdom of Spain. One would,

also, have the term mystic explained even if it may not be defined. Finally (and this may be expecting too much of a text for a survey course, but is nevertheless most highly desirable) why not a statement about the Price Revolution of this period and of its bearing on the course of events?

Merits there are many, notably: the book leaves the student no opportunity to confuse servile and feudal tenures; the guilds were useful in the Middle Ages and are not condemned because with the incoming money economy they became incumbrances; the importance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada is whittled down so that it at length fits the frame of the early modern picture; the Dutch hold their proper place in the story of the Thirty Years' War; mercantilism is defined and explained, and the Industrial Revolution gets a chapter in the century in which it began, and so also Europe outside of France, apart from the conventional one leading up to the crisis of 1789. These innovations alone would entitle the book to a high place among ths texts covering this period.

F. J. T.

The House of Lords in the XVIII Century. By A. S. Turberville. (Oxford University Press, 1927, pp. viii, 550.) This work continues an earlier study of the author in the history of the House of Lords under William III, and comes down to 1783 when King George III, by freely creating peers, changed the character of the upper House. In the seventy years he considers. Mr. Turberville sees three distinct periods: (1) the reign of Anne in which parties were, as in the years of William and Mary, evenly balanced in the House of Lords; (2) the Whig hegemony of the reigns of the first two Georges; and (3) the decline of the Whig power in the early years of George III. In the first fifteen chapters political affairs are dealt with as they arose, and the narrative sometimes has the interest of a tale that one has heard before. Much more interesting are chapters XV-XVII, devoted to the recruiting of the House of Lords, the social influence of its members, and their relations with the constituencies. Valuable notes are offered in criticism of the sources for the work in Appendix C, and the bibliography is well done. Its items, as well as a review of the footnotes, show that the study rests upon printed sources rather more than upon manuscript material.

Court Rolls of the Abbey at Ramsey and of the Honor of Clare. Edited by WARREN ORTMAN AULT. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929, pp. lvi, 319, $3.50.) "The purpose of this volume is to give the student of English private courts not a description of Ramsey's various courts but the courts themselves. Nothing less than a reading of the rolls will make those little communities live before his eyes (p. xii)." Then there follow the texts of the rolls of the honor court of Ramsey from 1255 to 1260, of the honor of Clare from September 1308 to September 1309, rolls of Ramsey banlieus of various dates between 1305 and 1383, and of other Ramsey courts leet, domainal, hundred, in these years. These rolls are presented in carefully edited form, well annotated, but sometimes not *in toto*. No doubt medieval documents must be reduced in order to make them available, because the costs of book publishing today are tremendous. Few will be satisfied with any editor's excisions. One may protest the idea that the amount of the fine or amercement is of little value to the modern student; that may be the only reason why someone will search out this volume. Nevertheless, the value of this collection to students of English and of feudal institutions and history is not to be exaggerated, and the hope of the editor that he has in his introduction said enough about the nature of each of the varieties of records presented to guide the student in studying them can be realized.

A Noble Rake. The Life of Charles, Fourth Lord Mohun. By STANLEY FORSYTHE, Ph. D., Professor of English in the Universersity of North Dakota. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928, pp. xviii, 310, $3.50.) In that spendid gallery of portraits left by Thackeray, the delineation of Lord Mohun rivals even such masterpieces as Barry Lyndon and Becky Sharp; for while he is not the protagonist of the drama wherein he appears, he is made so to impress himself on the reader's imagination that even when he is not on the stage his influence is never wholly absent, and his sinister shadow never quite fades away. From the moment when "My Lord Mohun comes among us for no good" to the tragic crash of "poor Beatrix" ambitions, the reader of *Henry Esmond* feels that the destinies of the chief characters lie in the hands of this villain; yet by consumate literary art Thackeray never obtrudes him but relates him properly to the centre of interest. For this reason, Mohun may be held a finer achievement in character delineation than many of

those more generally regarded as Thackeray's masterpieces. The effect, depending so largely on the method of suggestion, is indirect and subtle: that it is at the same time so powerful, evidences the genius that produced it.

Were the portrait the child of pure imagination there would be naught for us but to admire, as we admire the genius that evolved *Pendennis* and the skill wherewith he is presented; but, as we all know, Mohun belongs not to fiction only but to history as well. He actually lived during the reigns of Charles II, James II, William and Mary, and Anne. He was a fairly typical Whig peer of the early eighteenth century; and while his political career was not especially notable, he was faithful in his attendance at the House of Lords and performed some routine work well. If we allow ourselves an indulgence in conjecture we may say that he may have exerted a powerful influence on English history, since his killing of the Duke of Hamilton prevented the execution of a plan which might have placed James III on the throne and thereby modified the career of the English nation.

It will then be evident that his biographer has a twofold task: his immediate concern will be to discover to what extent Thackeray's picture agrees with fact, how far the Mohun of fiction is the Mohun of history; and he will also have to relate him to the historical background so that the picture will be real and convincing. That this has been attempted already, students of Thackeray are well aware. Perhaps the most notable contributions to our knowledge in this field are the notes to the Snow edition of *Henry Esmond* and the article by Professor Seccombe in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But neither of these is entirely satisfactory. A candid and complete study, with constant reference to historical documents on the one hand, and to Thackeray's novel on the other, has long been a desideratum; and while the need remained unfilled the danger increased that a figure half real and half imaginary would ultimately supplant a living, breathing man. Dr. Forsythe has filled the need admirably. For a work so thoroughly done the reviewer can have only praise, unless he feel called on to fault the writer for including too much. Everyone who has taught or written history knows how necessary it is to follow to the end each detail of the life of each person, even the least important, involved in an event; but he also knows that it is not necessary to pack all this information into his lecture or

book. Dr. Forsythe has chosen to do so, with the result that within considerably less than three hundred pages he has presented a mass of detail concerning persons and places that are not always of the first importance. And while he has consigned much of this to footnotes, thereby avoiding any interruption to the flow of narrative, the reader does not escape a sense of confusion tending to diminish his pleasure.

This is, however, a minor defect, and some may not consider it a defect at all. An historical work may readily be pardoned for providing superfluous information when it is so painstakingly performed as this is. The writer tells us that his book is an accident, the chance offspring of a footnote. Students of Thackeray, and all interested in that period of English history intervening between the Revolution of 1688 and the accession of George I, will consider the accident a singularly happy one.

EDWIN RYAN.

The American Nation. By RICHARD J. PURCELL, Ph. D., Associate Profesor of History, The Catholic University of America. (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1929, pp. xii-xlvii, 740.) The production of textbooks in history continues. This fact is deplored by many who do not think of the industry therein expended as an effort to lay broader and deeper foundations for knowledge in the minds of the young. Few textbooks today fail to make a contribution to the achievement of this purpose. Few, however, promise to succeed as well as that by Professor Purcell, of the Catholic University of America.

Its author received exceptional training at Minnesota and at Yale. His doctoral dissertation, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818,* won not only the much coveted John Addison Porter prize at the Yale commencement of 1916, but two years later merited also the Justin Winsor prize of the American Historical Association. Years of teaching in Catholic institutions (St. Thomas' College at St. Paul and the Catholic University of America), followed these honors. Training and experience, then, should enable Professor Purcell to produce a notable text in his field. Close examination of his book confirms this prediction.

Modern scholars demand of the textbooks which they present for study that they be teachable. Teachability implies much. So far as the subject matter is concerned the teachable book must be compre-

hensive, accurate, and fair. So far as the presentation of the subject matter is concerned, the teachable book must be discriminating in the selection of details and marshall them so that the important essentials will stand out in bold relief, defying the possibility of being passed over unseen or uncomprehended. This ordering is, so to speak, the warp of the textbook canvas. Crossing the threads of this warp are those of the woof—the arranging of both the details and essentials so that the young mind will learn to see not merely facts but also at least their simpler relationships. Again, the teachable textbook must not ignore the existence of the teacher. Textbooks can devitalize teachers. Lastly, the book must be alive, as much alive as the young people for whom it was written. Other "musts" there are, but let these suffice by way of tests of the volume under review.

Professor Purcell promptly breaks with the lamentable pedagogical tendency to ignore the beginnings of American history. He discovers, explores, and colonizes the country before he delves into the intricacies of the revolutionary age out of which evolved our constitutional system. To the story of exploration and colonization he devotes approximately a hundred pages. In two hundred more he reaches the constitutional period. About one hundred and fifty pages cover the early national period, leaving, therefore, three hundred for the period since the Civil War. A second impression of the book brings the story down to the Hoover inauguration. There is that sanity in this distribution of topics, too, which allows time for the grasping of fundamentals. Throughout there is evidence of the modernity of Professor Purcell's views.

The citation of the paragraph leads, printed throughout in bold type, illustrates both the balancing of the matter in order to induce thoughtful study and the developing of topics. Similarly, maps are inserted throughout the book at pedagogically strategic points.

In the foreword by the Reverend James H. Ryan, the rector of the Catholic University of America, this volume is described as "a textbook in history written for Catholic high schools, academies, and junior high schools (p. xi)". These schools may rightfully demand some notice of the development of Catholicism within that of the nation, and Profesor Purcell meets this requirement. Catholic church history appears not in "purple patches", but in natural connection with the general development of the country. The history of the church is often given several paragraphs (*e. g.*, pp. 229-230, 294-297,

357-360, 409-410, 422-424, 465-466, 476, 555-556, 599-601, 687-688, 723-724, 734-735), besides lesser references in the text and in the notes. Very useful, too, are the lists of books for the students and for the teacher appended to the sections.

A critical reading of the book confirms one in Dr. Ryan's opinion of the work and compels one to approve of his commendation.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

American Press Opinion: Washington to Coolidge. By ALLAN NEVINS. (New York and Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1928, pp. xxv, 598.) Professor Nevins has produced a book that will be of great value to both the journalist and the historian. The compiler of this collection of American editorials has evidently been through an endless amount of labor, sifting through the files of scores of periodicals. He has produced samples of opinion that appeared in fly-by-night magazines, in the bitterly partisan periodicals that prevailed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, in newspapers that have had a long and continuous history, and in the more recent journals of opinion that appear weekly.

The reviewer could scarcely quarrel with Professor Nevins over the sort of periodicals from which he has selected his editorials, nor over the viewpoints which they reflect. Magazines and newspapers get their hearing. Conservative and liberal opinion is quoted without a preponderance of either. There may be just cause for criticism, however, on geographical grounds. The East is heard from to a disproportionate degree. Of the eighty-three editorials reprinted for the period 1900-1927, only fourteen are taken from periodicals that are published west of the Alleghenies. Two of these are from magazines and twelve from newspapers.

The compiler of this valuable volume has written a brief introduction for each of the four parts into which the book is divided. Each succinctly sets forth the facts about certain of the publications and of the more famous editors of the period treated. These introductions are of great assistance to the lay reader, whose pleasure is further increased by the reproduction of some thirteen or fourteen old cartoons extending from the administration of Jackson to that of Roosevelt.

HEWITT B. VINNEDGE.

The Diary of John Quincy Adams. Edited by ALLAN NEVINS. (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1928, pp. xviii, 585.) Undoubtedly John Quincy Adams was one of America's great men; in fact New Englanders like to refer to him as the last statesman president. He was a scholar, diplomat, and true patriot. He was, moreover, above party politics and partisanship. Had he played the game of the "hand-shaking politician" (there were some even then), he would unquestionably have been chosen for a second term, but his puritan austerity destroyed his popularity and he shares with his father, for the same reason, the distinction of being one of the two presidents, in the first fifty years of our national life, who were refused a second term.

In his diary we get a glimpse into the forces and influences which went to shape his sturdy mind and character. The present "selection" is intended chiefly for the general reader interested in the political and social history of the period covered by the *Diary* (1794-1845). King, soldiers, politicians, countries, and customs are reflected in this mirror of troublous times and momentous events.

N. M. W.

Mexican Labor in the United States. By PAUL S. TAYLOR. [University of California Publications in Economics, vol. I, no. 1.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1928, pp. 94, $1.15.) This is the first of a projected series of studies on Mexican labor in the United States. It is a well-developed treatise on this special aspect of a labor problem, which although territorially limited in scope and interest, is nevertheless important. This work clearly and succinctly sets forth the background, history, and the economic and social aspects of this section. Facts are based on authentic sources, personal survey and contact with employer and employee are utilized with pertinent statistics sandwiched in here and there, with a discerning sense of what is essential. The author presents his matter logically and scholarly. The author has the good sense never to project himself into the pages, preaches no dogmas, and in a happy way has created a work valuable to the student and to the business man, who may go to it with profit.

E. H. S.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The tenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., December 27-28. The American Catholic Philosophical Association will meet at the same time and place, thus giving those interested in these two fields of Catholic scholarship an opportunity of commingling, which should be mutually pleasant and profitable. The programme of the Association's meeting is in preparation, and will be generally outlined in the October issue of the *Review*. A joint dinner of the two associations will be featured. Joint luncheon conferences will be held, and the two presidential addresses will be given in McMahon Hall and will be open to the public.

Dr. Robert H. Lord, a past president of the American Catholic Historical Association, and a former professor of modern European history in Harvard University, was, on April 5, 1929, ordained to the holy priesthood by His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell. Father Lord is at present assistant-rector of St. Cecilia's Church, Boston.

Right Rev. Monsignor James H. Ryan, Ph. D., Rector of the Catholic University of America, was elected a fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America, at its meeting held in Cambridge, Mass., April 26-27.

On April 5 death removed from the scene of his scholarly labors, Aidan Cardinal Gasquet, O. S. B., Archivist and Librarian of the Holy Roman Church. An appreciation of this great historian of the Church will appear in a future issue of the *Review*.

Dr. Conde B. Pallen, whose paper on Idealism in History will be remembered by many who attended the meeting of the Association held in Washington, 1920, died on May 26, in his seventieth year. Dr. Pallen was well known as a lecturer, publicist, editor, and writer. He was one of the founders of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and, from 1904 to 1920, its managing editor.

The Most Rev. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., Titular Archbishop of Tiana, formerly professor of medieval history in the Catholic University of America, has been appointed Apostolic Delegate of Malta.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published in its *News Service Bulletin* of June 16, "The United States and the Vatican—Past Diplomatic Relations," by Dr. Leo F. Stock, an illustrated revision of a fuller discussion by the same writer which appeared in this *Review*, n. s. III, pp. 103-122, under the title, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX".

The Bible on which Vice-President Curtis took the oath of office, March 4, 1929, is a German translation made by the Dominican Friar John Dietenberger, printed at Cologne in 1564.

Rt. Rev. Wiliam Turner, D. D., has written an additional chapter to his *History of Philosophy* under the title, Contemporary Philosophy. There is also appended a bibliography of works on the history of philosophy which have appeared since 1900. This additional material, covering 46 pp., which will be included in the next edition of this well-known and popular work, is now available as a separate (Ginn and Co.).

Teachers of history in our Catholic schools will find the *Historical Bulletin* (Loyola University Press, Chicago) a useful adjunct to their work. There are four numbers issued each year, containing, besides general articles, pedagogical suggestions, useful notes, bibliographies, and book reviews. The teacher should also know the *Historical Outlook* (McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia), eight issues a year, devoted primarily to the teaching of history.

The Fifth Annual Session of the Semaine Internationale d'Ethnologie Religieuse, will be held September 16-22, 1929, at Luxemburg. The sessions will be directed by Father Schmidt, S. V. D., the president of the Semaine, now director of the Missionary and Ethnological Museum at the Lateran. This year's conferences will have for their purpose the exposition of questions treating the history of religions, ethnological factors in the mission fields, religious psychology and folklore, and the problem of the family in various civilizations and its relations with religious life. A particular feature of the Semaine will be an exposition of the best publications dealing with the history of religions, ethnology, auxiliary sciences, and library methods. For fuller information letters should be directed to Mr. P. Reuter, 101 Grand rue, Luxemburg, Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

Progress and Religion: an Historical Enquiry, by Christopher

Dawson (Sheed and Ward), is based on the thesis that it is to Christianity that Europe owes its cultural unity.

The International Catholic Truth Society has published the *Beginnings of the Anglican Church,* by Rev. H. E. G. Rope. The *Life of Mary Ward* is a recent addition to the *Irish Messenger* series of pamphlets. Recent publications of the Catholic Truth Society include the following titles: *Bishop Milner* (1752-1826), by Canon E. H. Burton; *Fra Girolamo Savonarola, O. P.* (1452-1498), by Rev. Henry Tristram; *A Link with Blessed Thomas More: Mother Margaret Clement* (1540-1612); *Martyrs of Sussex,* by Noel MacD. Wilby; *St. Bede,* by Cardinal Gasquet; *Cardinal Manning,* a compilation; *Father Faber,* by Wilfrid H. Woolen; *Cardinal Vaughan,* by Cecil Kerr; *Father Damian,* by Enid Dinnis; *True History of Maria Monk; Foxe's Book of Martyrs,* by Rev. John Gerard, S. J.; *Pope Joan,* by Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J.; *Eastern Catholics,* by W. L. Scott; *Some Pages of Franciscan History,* by Paschal Robinson, O. F. M.; *The London Charterhouse,* by E. E. Kilburn; and the *Earlier History of Catholic Emancipation,* by E. H. Woollen.

The Institute of Medieval Studies at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, will begin its work in the autumn of the present year, under the direction of the able Professor Etienne Gilson, professor of medieval philosophy at the Sorbonne, Paris. Since 1925 Professor Gilson has been lecturing on this subject at Harvard University. He will still retain his chair at the Sorbonne, returning to Paris the latter half of the academic year. The aim of the institute is that "of trying to understand the medieval mind and interpret it to the modern world."

Mediaeval Culture, two volumes, by Karl Vossler, is an introduction to Dante and his times, giving a synthesis of the ideas, literature, and civilization of the Middle Ages, as these culminated in the *Divine Comedy* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co.). The translation is by William C. Lawton.

Volume VII of *Histoire de Monde,* published under the direction of M. E. Cavaignac, is *La Chrétienté Médiévale* (395-1254), by Professor Augustin Fliche of the University of Montpellier (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1929).

Maintaining its customary excellence in content and typography,

the April *Speculum* presents an account of Poor-Relief in the Royal Households of Thirteenth-Century England, by Hilda Johnstone; and the second article on the Mediaeval Academy Excavations at Cluny, by Kenneth J. Conant. E. K. Rand contributes a handsomely illustrated note on Franco-Saxon Ornamentation in a Book of Tours, written at the monastery of St. Martin's.

The work being done at the Collegio S. Bonaventura at Quaracchi is too little known, although the extensive and unusual programme of editing and pubishing is in great measure financed from this country. A critical and complete edition of the works of St. Bonaventure, eleven folio volumes, was published between 1882 and 1902; two volumes of the *Summa Theologica* of Alexander of Hales appeared in 1924 and 1928; ten volumes of *Analecta Franciscana*; twenty volumes of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*; a new edition of the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard; and the first volume of *Sinica Franciscana,* a collection of letters written by Franciscan missionaries in China during the Middle Ages. The latest undertaking is a definitive edition of the works of Blessed John Duns Scotus.

Les Grandes Indulgences Pontificales aux Pays-Bas à la Fin du Moyen Âge, 1300-1531, is a recent essay dealing with the history and financial phase of the subject, by F. Remy (Louvain, pp. xxi, 230).

Volume III of Professor James Mackinnon's *Luther and the Reformation,* covering the period, 1521-1529, is announced by Longmans, Green and Co.

The lack of citations and documents in Hilaire Belloc's *Joan of Arc* (Cissell, pp. 128) detracts in no degree from the charm of the story, since the information concerning his subject can hardly be added to, unless, as Mr. Belloc says, the record of her examination at Poitiers should be discovered. Messrs. Sheed and Ward announce *Survivals and New Arrivals,* by the same author, being a survey of the present-day world in its relation with the Catholic Faith.

The leading articles in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique,* for April, are "La Notion du Christ—Logos dans la Littérature Johannique," by É. Tobac; and "Un Traité Inédit relatif au Grand Schisme d'Occident," by Auguste Leman, concerning the propositions of Chrétien Coc to the synod of Lille, 1384. There is also a note

by Pierre Guillaume on "Un Précurseur de la Réforme Catholique: Alonso de Madrid, *L'Arte para Servir a Dios.*"

Among the contents of the May issue of *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* is a valuable account of "Le Seminaire du Saint-Esprit et les Missions de la Nouvelle-France au XVIII[e] Siecle", by A. David, C. S. Sp., to which are appended lists of the priests of the diocese of Quebec, the missionaries, the missionaries in Acadia, and the priests of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Another contribution of interest in this number is "Historique de la Paroisse de Saint-Maurice, Comte de Champlain".

A valuable series of essays and studies on various phases of religious life under the Ottoman Sultans, is *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans,* in two volumes, by the late F. W. Hasluck, edited by Margaret M. Hasluck (Clarendon Press).

The *English Historical Review* for April prints the record of an episcopal visitation of the parochial churches in the diocese of Hereford in the eighth year of Bishop Trefnant (1397). These returns from 281 parishes throw considerable light on the religious phase of village life at the end of the fourteenth century.

Among the contents of *Studies* for March are: Ur and Abraham, by Patrick Boylan; Religious Aspects of O'Connell's Early Life, by Constantine P. Curran; and Tarsus, the Birthplace of St. Paul, by Michael Tierney.

The Faith of York (London, Harding and More, pp. 63), by W. P. Thurstan, is an historical essay issued as a souvenir of the thirteenth centenary of the founding of York Minster in 627.

Professor A. F. Pollard's *Wolsey* emphasizes the Cardinal's relations with the papal curia as the key to his foreign policy (Longmans, pp. 393).

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (New York, Macmillan) has issued *English Ecclesiastical Studies,* being some essays in research in medieval history, by Rose Graham of Somerville College, Oxford. Other new publications of this society are: *The Albigensian Heresy,* Vol. II, by Rev. H. J. Warner; *Turning Points of General Church History,* by Edward L. Cutts, condensed and revised by William C. Piercy; and *Sketches of Church History,* parts I and II, by J. C. Robertson, revised by C. B. Moss.

The evidence to be found in the *Celtic Church in England,* by J. L. Gough Meissner, shows the continuance of Celtic influence and usages for a longer period than is usually supposed (Martin Hopkinson, pp. 240).

Mrs. T. Concannon has written the story of the *Poor Clares in Ireland, 1629-1929* (Dublin, M. H. Gill, pp. 181).

Although England keeps its principal celebration of the centenary of Catholic Emancipation (1829-1929) for the National Catholic Congress in September next, many civic and religious ceremonies have already been held in honor of the anniversary. Under the presidency of His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Bourne, the Catholic Truth Society met in annual session on Friday, April 12. Two important announcements were made—one by the Cardinal in the name of the English hierarchy on the question of Catholic elementary education; the other, by His Grace, the Archbishop of Liverpool, Dr. Downey, on three outstanding leaders in the movement for Catholic freedom — Bishop Challoner, Bishop Milner, and the famous "J. K. L.", Bishop Doyle of Kildare-Leighlin. The special theme of this excellent address was the lesson present-day Catholics may take from the successful use of the press during the height of the campaign for Catholic liberty. On the following day—the actual anniversary of the royal assent to the Emancipation Bill, the English hierarchy attended a thanksgiving Mass at the National Cathedral of Westminster, at the close of which a solemn *Te Deum* was sung.

Seldom has any Catholic event in the empire received such sympathetic attention from the British press as this centenary. The London *Times* literary supplement of April 11, contained a leading article on Catholic Emancipation which gave unbounded pleasure to its Catholic readers. The *Times* aptly called the act a measure "which threw down the barriers dividing the Roman Catholic communion from the main stream of national life". The Catholic press of England and Ireland, for the weeks of April 12 and 19, has valuable accounts of the historic scenes in Great Britain, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland during the last fifty years (1778-1829) of the fight for civic and religious freedom. These issues of the *Catholic Times, Catholic Herald,* and the *Universe*—London's principal Catholic weeklies, are particularly valuable to the historian. One sadness was felt by all who participated in the celebrations of April 12-13, namely, the death of England's premier Catholic his-

torian, His Eminence, Cardinal Gasquet, whose last article entitled "The Winter of Persecution" reached the office of the *Universe* on the day of his death in Rome.

Already many noteworthy publications have appeared with Catholic Emancipation as their theme. One of the earliest of these is Canon Howlett's lecture on Catholic Emancipation, delivered in the London Coliseum, on February 10, 1929. By many, both in England and Ireland, this lecture was interpreted as a supplement to the *Joint Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy of England and Wales on the Centenary of Catholic Emancipation,* which was issued on Septuagesima Sunday (January 27) to be read in all the churches the following Sunday, and which aroused some anxiety because of its studied silence on the great Irish leaders of the movement. A series of articles by Michael MacDonagh on *The Story of Catholic Emancipation* in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for October, November and December, 1928, had reawakened considerable interest in the Irish aspects of the campaign. These articles were more than a summary of the seven volumes on the dawn, eve and sequel to Catholic Emancipation by the late Bishop Bernard Ward. They served to remind Catholics in general of Ward's dedication to his *Eve of Catholic Emancipation* —"To our Brethren of Catholic Ireland whose faith, like that of the Romans of old, is spoken of throughout the entire world, in the hope that the story of our common fight for religious freedom may prove to us a fresh bond of union, insuring in the future that cordial cooperation a pledge of which we discern in the past".

So far, neither the celebration in Great Britain and Ireland nor the books and pamphlets which have appeared, have borne out Bishop Ward's hopes. If anything, they have served to accentuate divergent historical views on the causes and personages involved in the fight for Emancipation. The April *Dublin Review* (founded by O'Connell and Wiseman, in 1836) is devoted to the subject and in eleven serried articles describes with exceptional charm the chief factors in the triumph of the Emancipation bill. The Catholic Truth Society published a series of articles on the subject, edited by Father Herbert Thurston, S. J. Another short but satisfactory account is Wilfrid H. Woollen's *Earlier History of Catholic Emancipation,* issued by the same society. Dennis Gwynn has given us two volumes of outstanding merit, *The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation* and *A Hundred Years of Catholic Emancipation* (1829-1929), both able presentations of the question, and in both of which the Irish side of the

struggle is treated with skill and impartiality. The little volume *Catholic Emancipation* by Rev. Timothy O'Herlihy, C. M., of the Irish College, Paris, is a forcible presentation of what may be called the left wing of the celebration. Some of his conclusions on the effect of the act itself and on O'Connell's political strategy will come as a surprise to readers who are not acquainted with the current objections made by Irish thinkers to generally accepted views on the freedom won in 1829. G. Elliot Anstruther's *Hundred Years of Catholic Progress, being a Short Account of the Church's fortunes in Great Britain since the Time of the Emancipation Act* is indispensible to the student of English Catholic history. It is a readable and compact narrative of contemporary Catholic life in England. John Quinlan has written a *People's History of Catholic Emancipation,* which is confined to the last thirty years of the struggle and is based on the thesis that the act of 1829 "was much more the restoration of the privileges of citizenship to Catholics than the repeal of religious disabilities". A volume which has the appearance of being an official publication on the question is that entitled *Catholic Emancipation: 1829 to 1929,* with an introduction by Cardinal Bourne. Thirteen essays are given in this work by Monsignor William Barry, Archbishop Goodier, S. J., Sir John Gilbert, Algernon Cecil, the late Sir Bertram Windle, Ernest Oldmeadow, the Editor of the London *Tablet,* Viscount Fitzalan, Abbot Butler, Mother Maud Monahan, Margaret Fletcher, Father Thurston, S. J., G. K. Chesterton, and the Bishop of Brentwood. Here again, while admirable in every subject as an historical narrative, the causes leading up to Emancipation are lost sight of in the presence of the progress made by the Church in England during the last hundred years. Michael MacDonagh has brought out a new and revised edition of his life of O'Connell under the title: *Daniel O'Connell and the Story of Catholic Emancipation.*

All these volumes deserve high praise, but it is to be hoped that the revival of interest in Catholic Emancipation will bring to light many other scholarly studies on the subject. From a purely objective viewpoint the chief weakness in all that has been published since Amherst wrote his *History of Catholic Emancipation* (in two volumes in 1886) is an impartial and authoritative life of Bishop John Milner. Until the shadows that have gathered about his policies and methods, particularly the latter, are either dispelled or definitely explained,

the historical approach to Catholic Emancipation must remain obscure and misleading. His life is a key to these years.

Recent periodical literature on the subject, in addition to the references already given, include: Daniel O'Connell and Catholic Emancipation, Bishop Shahan (*Missionary,* June); the Centenary of Catholic Emancipation, Francis Talbot, S. J. (*America,* May 4); the Centenary of Roman Catholic Emancipation, J. W. Poynter (*Churchman,* April); and Ireland and Her Poor Dear Sydney Smith, I, W. F. P. Stockley (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* May).

The fourth annual session of the Seminar in Mexico, a cooperative study of Mexican life and culture, will be held at Mexico City, July 13-August 3. The program will consist of general conference periods, round table discussions, special lectures, and field trips.

Tomo II of the *Indice de Documentos de Nueva España existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (pp. 446) has recently been published.

Pamphlet No. 2 of the Catholic Association for International Peace is entitled, *Latin America and the United States* (N. Y., Paulist Press, pp. 67, fifteen cents).

Two projected series of Latin-American publications will be welcomed by scholars in this field. The Inter-American Historical Series, to be edited by the Hispanic American group of the American Historical Association (though having no official connection with the Association), and to be published by the North Carolina University Press, will probably begin to appear during the present year. The first volume will likely be Luis Galdames, *Estudio de Historia de Chile,* which is being translated and edited by Professor I. J. Cox. The second volume will be either Carlos Navarro y Lamarca, *Compendio de Historia general de America,* translated and edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, or Ricardo Levene, *Lecciones de Historia Argentina,* translated and edited by Professor William S. Robertson. There has also recently been organized the Quivira Society, which will have as its object the publication, in English, of rare early materials pertaining to the Southwest and Northern Mexico. Among the proposed volumes are: The *Relation of the Espejo Expedition to New Mexico in 1582,* by Diego Pérez Luxán, translated by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey (now in press); *Luz de Tierra Incógnita,* by Juan Mateo Manje, translated by Pro-

fessor Bolton; *Historia de la Nueva Mexico,* by Gaspar de Villagrá (1610); documents relating to Fray Alonso Posadas, to be edited by Dr. A. B. Thomas; and an unpublished revision of the Memorial of Fr. Alonso Benavides, dated 1634.

Volume I of *Marie de L'Incarnation, Ursuline de Tours, Fondatrice des Ursulines de la Nouvelle-France: Écrits Spirituels et Historiques,* by Dom Claude Martin, has been revised by Dom Albert Jamet, with critical annotations of documents and a new biography (Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1929, pp. 424).

The Bureau of the Census has issued as a reprint, the census of the *Roman Catholic Church,* 1926 (U. S. Government Printing Office, 1929). This useful pamphlet of 29 pages gives a summary of statistics for churches in urban and rural territory, 1926; a comparative summary, 1890-1926; the number and membership of churches in urban and rural territory and total membership by sex, by states, 1926; the same from 1906 to 1926, and membership by age, 1926, by states; the value of church property and church debt, by states, 1926; church expenditures, Sunday schools, and parochial schools, by states, 1926; and the number and membership of churches, value of edifices, debt, expenditures, Sunday schools, and parochial schools, by archdioceses and dioceses. There is, finally, a statement, revised and approved by the general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, of the history, doctrine, and organization of the Church. Copies of this compilation may be procured from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, at five cents each.

The April number of the *New England Quarterly* prints an article by A. R. M. Lower, on New France in New England, which discusses with much understanding the Catholic phase of the French-Canadian immigration. The account, in the same issue, of the Concord School of Philosophy, by Austin Warren, notes the participation of Brother Azarias in that movement.

Among the varied contents of Volume LXI of the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* is a paper by Edwin D. Mead, on Recent Washington Literature in England, in which reference is made to a *Life of George Washington, the Father of Modern Democracy,* "a really vital and pulsating book", written by the Very Rev. James O'Boyle of Antrim (1915); and a valuable account of the

Benefit of Clergy in the American Criminal Law, by Professor Arthur L. Cross.

The contents of the March issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* include accounts of the Beginnings of English Catholic Emigration to the New World, 1578-1634, by Rev. William J. P. Powers; of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis, 1855-1928, by a Member of the Sisterhood; of St. Joseph's-in-the-Hills, Malvern, Pa., by George Barton; and a Sermon preached in the Philadelphia Cathedral by the Rev. Dr. William J. Lallou, on the 150th anniversary of the Mass celebrated aboard the *Languedoc*, the flagship of the French fleet.

The Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association proposes to raise a fund of $10,000, to be used in publishing a series of source material for the history of the West. Since such a project will be certain to advance our knowledge of Catholic activities in the Mississippi Valley, it is hoped that the commission will be generously supported. Contributions, subscriptions, and requests for further information should be addressed to the chairman, Dr. Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.

Among the papers read at the twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Vincennes, Indiana, April 25-27, was one by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., of St. Louis University, on the Earliest Settlements in the Illinois Country, which will later appear in this *Review*.

The *Report* of the general convention of the Catholic Central Verein of America held at St. Cloud, Minn., August 25-29, 1928, contains two papers of historical interest: one on the Agricultural Undertakings of Religious Orders, by A. Brockland; and the second, concerning the Liturgical Movement and the Catholic Woman, by Rev. Virgil Michel, O. S. B.

In the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for April, Arthur T. Donohue gives some account of the beginnings of St. Mary's College, Kansas, in his article on Financing a Catholic College in Kansas in 1850; Henry S. Spalding, S. J., concludes his study of Colonial Maryland; Sister M. Veronica, C. S. C., contributes a Reminiscence of St. Angela's Academy of Morris, Illinois; another chapter is added

to Joseph J. Thompson's Illinois, the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America, and to Anthony Matre's story of the American Federation of Catholic Societies; and Marian Habig, O. F. M., completes his record of the First American Foreign Missioners.

The Iowa Catholic Historical Society, which was founded at Dubuque, March 23, 1928, held its first meeting at Columbia College, April 9, when the following officers were elected for a period of two years: Martin J. Wade, president; Maj.-Gen. Matt Tinley, vice-president; Rev. F. A. Mullin, Columbia College, Dubuque, secretary-treasurer; Rev. Lester Kuenzel, curator; and nineteen directors. The Columbia College library was designated as the official depository of the society, whose purpose is "to collect and preserve books, pamphlets, portraits, maps, relics, manuscripts, letters, documents, and any and all articles and materials which may establish or illustrate the Catholic history of Iowa and the adjoining states, and to publish such historical matter as the Society may authorize."

The *Indiana Magazine of History* for March contains an article on Foreigners and Their Influence on Indiana, by Robert L. LaFollette, which gives much information concerning the Polish, German, and Irish Catholics in that State.

The March issue of the *Grail* is devoted entirely to the diamond jubilee of St. Meinrad's Abbey, Ind., and contains a well written historical sketch of that Benedictine Monastery by Peter Behrman, O. S. B. Students of Church history should also know the *Historical Essays* published at St. Meinrad's. Number 2 of the first volume has recently been issued. That historical records are not neglected at this institution is attested by the alumni list appended to the volume.

The third of the Documents for the History of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century, contributed by France Scholes to the *New Mexico Historical Review* for April, is a description of the dedication of the mission of Neustra Señor de Guadalupe at El Paso. This mission was founded in 1659, the cornerstone of the church was laid in 1662, and the church was dedicated on January 15, 1668. The original of the document is in the National Library in Mexico.

The Arthur H. Clark Company will publish a special edition, of

100 copies only, in two volumes, of Earle H. Forrest's *Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest.* The supplementary volume will contain forty-five additional illustrations and a colored map showing the locations of missions, ruins, pueblos, etc. The subscription price is $30; after publication the set will sell for $50.

At the time of her death, Mrs. Jeanette Thurber Connor, vice-president of the Florida State Historical Society, was writing a history of the missions of Florida, and had gathered together a great amount of original material bearing on that subject. The work is now being brought to a conclusion by Miss Florence Spofford, who worked with Mrs. Connor in the gathering and copying of materials. It is not generally known that the mission history of Florida is as rich as that of California. The missions of Florida antedated those of California by over a century. The Florida missions were also in charge of the Franciscans, many of whom gained the crown of martyrdom. One of the friars, Francisco de Pareja, reduced to written form the language of the Timucua Indians, compiling a grammar, *confesionario,* and a short catechism. In fact these, together with two small items published in 1635, and several letters, are all the remains we now have of the Timucua language, which has been obselete for many years. Father Pareja's works were published between the years, 1612 and 1627. One of the most cherished possessions of Mrs. Connor was the old mission ruin near New Smyrna which was given to her as a birthday gift by her husband in 1914. This mission, which is as lovely a ruin as can be found among mission ruins, was built in 1696. It was destroyed a few years later by the Indians, and afterwards seemed to have been used only intermittingly by the missionaries. During the English occupation of the Floridas it was used as a sugar mill, and the wheel house and sugar kettles are yet to be seen. Several years ago, Mrs. Connor had a bronze tablet placed at the entrance of the mission, on which is extolled the heroism of the Franciscan missionaries. The ruin is now a possession of the Florida State Historical Society, by which it will be kept intact. Some years ago a silver candlestick, belonging to the mission, was unearthed near one of the walls. This mission, the largest ruin of its nature in Florida, is well worth a visit by anyone going to Florida. New Smyrna can be reached easily from St. Augustine or from Daytona Beach. While at the mission the sightseer should also go to Turtle Mound, the largest existing shell mound made by

the Florida Indians. This also is the possession of the Florida State Historical Society.

Historical articles in current periodicals—*General and Miscellaneous:* History and Skepticism, Ronald Millar, *Thought,* June; the Early Bird in History, G. K. Chesterton, *America,* May 4; Church History by Non-Catholic Historians, J. E. Graham, *Truth,* June; Der Katholizismus in internationalen Geistesverkehr, *Abendland,* March; Ein "Kelloggpakt" aus dem 7 Jahrhundert, *ibid.*; Judaism: a symposium, *Journal of Biblical Literature,* vol. 48, parts I and II; Concerning the Jewish Dispersion, William Fairweather, *Journal of Religion,* April; the Jewish Background of the Gospels, I, G. H. Parbrook, *Holborn Review,* April; As to the Canonization of Matthew, B. W. Bacon, *Harvard Theological Review,* April; Peter's Triumph at Antioch, *ibid., Journal of Religion,* April; St. Francis de Sales, Social Worker, Peter L. Johnson, *Salesianum,* April; the Pope's Foreign Mercenaries, John Gibbons, *Blackfriars,* May; Hacia el XV Centenario de la muerte de San Augustin, P. V. Burgos, *Religion y Cultura,* May; El clero musulmán P. J. López Ortiz, *ibid.*; L'Oeuvre africaine des Missions de Lyon, I, Georges Goyau, *Revue de Paris,* May 15; the Papacy and Spanish-American Independence, J. L. Mecham, *Hispanic American Historical Review,* May.

European: Die Entwicklung des französischen sozialen Katholizismus, Waldemar Gurian, *Abendland,* February; Abbé Portal, R. E. Sencourt, *American Church Monthly,* May; Abbé Huvelin, a Study in Spiritual Discernment, Muriel Keny, *Hibbert Journal,* April; Missionary Orders in France, R. W. Cooper, *Contemporary Review,* June; Calvin and Butzer, Wilhelm Pauck, *Journal of Religion,* April; the Development and Consistency of Luther's Attitude to Religious Liberty, R. H. Bainton, *Harvard Theological Review,* April; Le Concile d'Embrun (1727-1728), II, J. Carreyre, *Revue des Questions Historiques,* April; Catholic Social Action in Holland (continued), P. J. S. Serrarens, *Irish Rosary,* April; L'Église catholique de rite latin en Roumanie, L. Honoré, S. J., *Nouvelle Revue Théologique,* May; the States of the Church, J. F. O'Doherty, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* May; Clement VII and the Sack of Rome, John Johnson, *ibid.*; Le Catholicisme dans la Grande Roumanie, Pierre Delattre, *Correspondant,* May 10.

British Empire: Revolt of the Reformation Parliament against Ecclesiastical Exactions in England, 1529-1536, O. A. Marti, *Journal*

of Religion, April; Pitt and the Catholics, Denis Gwynn, *Month,* March; Curiosities of a Medieval Episcopal Register, H. P. Palmer, *London Quarterly Review,* April; the Medieval University of Oxford, H. E. Salter, *History,* April; Considerations on the Trial of John Ogilvie, II, W. E. Brown, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* May; Education in Medieval Scotland, Hugh Graham, *Catholic Educational Review,* May; Foreign Religious Influences in Seventeenth Century Scotland, G. D. Henderson, *Edinburgh Review,* April; Illegal Education, a Study in Irish History, P. J. Dowling, *Dublin Review,* April; the Real St. Columban, T. A. Murphy, *Australasian Catholic Record,* January; Archdeacon McEncroe and Thomas Francis O'Meagher, E. M. O'Brien, *ibid.*; Scotland and the Faith, IV, C. J. Mackie, *Catholic Gazette,* May.

United States: The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673, G. J. Garraghan, S. J., *Thought,* June; Father Francis Pierz, Missionary, Sister Grace McDonald, *Minnesota History,* June; the Ethnological Value of the *Jesuit Relations,* H. S. Spalding, S. J., *American Journal of Sociology,* March; Oliver Pollock, Financier of the Revolution in the West, J. A. James, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review,* June.

CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

Miss ELIZABETH S. KITE has written the *Life of Beaumarchais,* is an authority on early Franco-American relations, and has recently published a documentary study of *L'Enfant and Washington.*

The Very Rev. ALFRED BARRY, O. S. F. C., of Newport, R. I., is a frequent contributor to Catholic periodicals, and a well-known lecturer for the Catholic Evidence Guild. During the World War, Father Barry served as chaplain to the British fleet, and was for three years in the area of the Dardanelles.

Very Rev. FELIX FELLNER, O. S. B., is Prior and Archivist of St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, Pa., and professor of Church History in St. Vincent Seminary.

Dom AIDAN GERMAIN, O. S. B., Ph. D., formerly of the faculty of St. John's, Collegeville, Minn., has been appointed to the teaching staff of the Catholic University of Peking, China.

Miss KAETHE SPIEGEL received her Ph. D. from the German University of Prague and, as the recipient of a Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fellowship, has been pursuing her studies in this country.

The Very Reverend RAPHAEL M. HUBER, O. M. C., formerly Superior of the House of Studies of the Friars Conventual, at the Catholic University of America, is now a member of the Penitenzieria, Rome.